WORKS OF SAINT BONAVENTURE

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Saint Bonaventure's

Itinerarium Mentis in Deum

With an Introduction, Translation and Commentary

WORKS OF SAINT BONAVENTURE

Edited by

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Saint Bonaventure's

ITINERARIUM MENTIS IN DEUM

With an Introduction,
Translation and Commentary

by

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THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE
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PREFACE

When Father Philotheus Boehner died unexpectedly, on May 22, 1955, he left his copy of the present volume unfinished. However, with the able assistance of Sister Emma Jane Marie Spargo, Ph. D., of Holy Names Academy, Rome, N. Y., the Introduction, the translation, and a large portion of the commentary had been made ready for the press by Fr. Philotheus. Sister Emma Jane was kind enough to redact the last chapters of the commentary. She utilized the notes written by Fr. Philotheus in view of the present edition, as well as his course on Saint Bonaventure taught at the Institute. Consequently, one must admit that all the ideas expressed in the commentary, not to mention the Introduction, are those of Fr. Philotheus Boehner.

The scientific career of the author started with translating into German the work of Professor E. Gilson on Saint Bonaventure (*Der Heilige Bonaventura*, [Hellerau], 1929). Fr. Philotheus loved Saint Bonaventure ever after. Together with Fr. Julian Kaup, O. F. M., he published the *Itinerarium* in German (Werl, 1931 and 1932). At the Institute he wrote *Examination of Conscience According to Saint Bonaventure*, first serialized in THE CORD, *A Franciscan Spiritual Review*, vol. I-III, 1950-1953, later in book-form (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1953 and 1956). Saint Bonaventure always took a place of honor in his teaching and preaching as well as in his *Christliche Philosophie* (Paderborn, 1937, 1952-1954, 1954). It was fitting that his scientific and spiritual itinerary would conclude with the *Itinerarium* in English.

The Franciscan Institute — including Father Philotheus, I am sure — is very grateful to Sister Emma Jane for polishing this additional diamond in the crown of the originator of the series WORKS OF SAINT BONAVENTURE in English.

ELIGIUS M. BUYTAERT, O. F. M.

The Franciscan Institute
April 9, 1956

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

There are few writings of Saint Bonaventure so deeply impregnated with the spirit of Saint Francis as is the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. In his great theological writings, the Seraphic Doctor is bound by the fetters of scholastic method and tradition. These allow little freedom to the seraphic spirit which, though everywhere present in his writings, seldom makes its presence felt to one unfamiliar with it. In his ascetical writings, too, with few exceptions, Saint Bonaventure seems to be less influenced by Saint Francis than by such great Masters of the spiritual life as Saint Bernard, the Victorines, and the Fathers of the Church, although even in these writings he places special emphasis on typical Franciscan virtues and exercises. His sermons, likewise, are hampered by the highly artificial method of mediaeval preaching, a style far from the simplicity of Saint Francis' exhortations and admonitions. But when we open the *Itinerarium*, we discover a new Bonaventure, the true Franciscan, who has learned from Saint Francis not only the rules and form of life, but his whole outlook, his ideal. To be sure, it is the great Master of Paris who is speaking to us in the *Itinerarium;* and he did not unlearn his philosophical and theological wisdom and language, of which he had such masterly command. Yet in the *Itinerarium* it is rather the great Master, the Seraphic Doctor, who could not find satisfaction and peace in the lecture halls on Mount Genevieve at Paris, but who humbly climbed, in the footsteps of his Holy Father, up Mount Alverno and learned there the secret of peace, as Saint Francis understood it, a peace that is the perfection of wisdom. It was Saint Francis who there dictated to the pen of the Seraphic Doctor these few but highly condensed lines which can teach us how to follow Saint Francis in the pursuit of his sublime goal, even though we are called by the Lord to devote our lives to intellectual culture, which the Seraphic Father neither wanted nor needed. The *Itinerarium*, then, is an essentially Franciscan tract, guiding learned men in the spirit of Saint Francis to his mode of contemplative life.

I. SAINT FRANCIS, THE MODEL OF THE *ITINERARIUM*

Saint Francis wandered through the world like a pilgrim and a stranger. When the Lord had called him to live in accord with the form and pattern of the Holy Gospel, his body found no permanent dwelling place anywhere, and his mind felt no longer at home here upon earth. He became an itinerant, both in the literal and in the spiritual sense. There came a holy restlessness into the life of the Seraphic Saint. At times he preached the word of penance and salvation in the streets of the towns and in the fields of the country; then he retired to his favorite hermitages in the mountains and wildernesses; again he travelled to take care of the needs of the brethren. Nowhere did he stay for long.[1] Saint Francis, like his divine Master, did not have any place that he could call his own, not even for use. This restlessness was not caused primarily by his zeal for souls or forced upon him by the care of the brethren. It sprang from a deeper source. In his heart there was burning a desire and a longing for his true home, where his Father in heaven had prepared a dwelling place for him. How then could he feel at peace or even at ease in this world?

To Saint Francis this world was truly his place of exile. And hence, as Celano relates, he hurried to make his exit from it as from an exile.[2] According to what we know from the early biographers of Saint Francis, we may be assured that seldom has a man more deeply felt and more literally lived the words of Saint Peter: "Beloved, I exhort you as strangers and pilgrims . . ." (I *Petr.* 2, 11). Saint Francis wanted these ideas — of strangeness and pilgrimage — to be so much a part of the life of the Friars Minor that he inserted them into the Rule.

It may appear very odd, at first glance, that this same Saint Francis is commonly admired for his great and tender love for all creatures, for a new feeling toward nature, and for a hitherto unheard of conversation with them. Who can count the many

1 Nam per decem et octo annorum spatium, quod tunc erat expletum (that is, two years before his death), vix aut numquam requiem habuerat caro sua, varias et longissimas circuiens regiones, ut spargeret ubique semina verbi Dei spiritus ille promptus, spiritus ille devotus, spiritus ille fervens. Celano, *Vita* I, pars II, c. IV (97); ed. Quaracchi, p. 105.

2 Mundum quasi peregrinationis exilium exire festinans . . . *Vita* II, p. II, c. 124 (165); p. 163.

pictures and drawings representing the Saint surrounded by birds and various animals, with mountains and trees as background and herbs and flowers as decorations? And, in fact, Saint Francis had made a great discovery. He had discovered nature, unspoiled by human greed and selfishness, as it had been on the morning of creation. A neglected stone on the wayside could hold his admiring attention and lift his soul to heavenly joy. He loved the mountains, the solemn solitude of the forests, the joyous play of silvery springs and murmuring brooks; he loved the wind and the storm, rain and hail, the earth with its inexhaustible fertility and ever-renewed beauty, the moon and the sun and all the stars in their silent splendor. How dear to his heart were the birds! Even the ravening beasts of the wilderness found in Saint Francis their friend.

We must be careful, however, not to misunderstand this deep love and reverence of Saint Francis for all creatures. It was neither a purely naturalistic enjoyment of nature, nor a sentimental enthusiasm for nature, nor a worship of it. Nor was it a superficial, symbolic consideration of creatures. Saint Francis' outlook on each and every creature was essentially religious. He felt a great reverence toward all creatures, since they were created and owned by His almighty Lord, and hence he greeted them with reverence; he loved all of them dearly, since all were children of the good Father in Heaven, and hence he greeted them as brothers and sisters. He called on all of them to praise and adore the great Lord who had so lavishly given the beauty, splendor, variety, and goodness, overflowing in creatures, given solely that they might manifest and glorify God. And hence he sang with Brother Sun and with the rest, yes, even with Sister Death.

But Saint Francis' relation to creatures was not only religious; it was also immediate, surpassing the symbolism so commonly encountered in the Middle Ages. He was able to penetrate into their inner secret, to drink their beauty, to be warmed by their goodness, to hear their voices and even their silent hymns, to taste their sweetness, and to speak with them. And all this immediate communing was a conversation with creatures in their common Lord. For that reason it was given him to sing with them the hymn of creation which in thousands and thousands of harmonies had filled the vast spaces of the universe since the morning of creation. It needed a Saint to discover nature's secret in its original beauty, goodness, and meaning. After he had discovered this secret, the Seraphic Saint could not help but see, taste, admire, and praise his heavenly Father in every creature. For that reason he could be wholly with them and nevertheless not rest in them.[3]

3 Cognoscit in pulchris pulcherrimum; cuncta sibi bona: "Qui nos fecit est optimus," clamant. Per impressa rebus vestigiis insequitur

Thus the exceedingly tender love of Saint Francis for all creatures did not make him forget that he was a pilgrim and a stranger. On the contrary, all creatures were transformed in his immediate experience to signposts, as it were, to remembrances and admonitions — in a word, to souvenirs. Each of them recalled to his mind and heart something of his heavenly Father. Just as a souvenir is dear to the heart, since it is a sweet token of love and reminds us of one beloved, and yet, at the same time, fills the heart with sadness and longing, since it is a token of one beloved who is far away, so creatures, the souvenirs of the good Father in heaven, caused at one and the same time in Francis' heart both joy and woe. Saint Francis could rejoice in creatures; he could sing with his brothers and sisters in the Lord. But with his joy mingled easily tears of longing and desire for his real home, of which creatures were only souvenirs. This earth, this valley of tears, remained his exile. He did not feel himself a citizen of this world, since he knew that he was a citizen of a still better one. Only his body separated him from his goal; his mind no longer belonged to this world. He sighed in his captivity, longing and desiring with burning heart for union with Christ in the arms of the heavenly Father.[4] Could he help shedding tears even in his beloved wildernesses and in the delightful beauty of meadows and forests?[5]

Thus by an inner necessity, if we may presume to say so, Saint Francis became and was a mystic. He did not need to study learned treatises on mysticism, nor did he need to learn from the mystical experiences of others. His whole life as pilgrim and stranger impelled him to the heights of religious experiences in which the longing of the heart transcends the body, and the soul rests in that peace which the world does not know. It became almost natural to Saint Francis to live in the Heavenly City, not in body, but in the fervor of his spirit, which anticipated

ubique dilectum, facit sibi de omnibus scalam qua perveniatur ad solium. Inauditae devotionis affectu complectitur omnia, alloquens ea de Domino, et in laudem eius adhortans. Celano *Vita* II, p. II, c. 124 (165); p. 164.

4 Corpus peregrinus a Domino vir Dei Franciscus praesentem spiritum caelo contendebat inferre, et angelorum civem iam factum solus carnis paries disiungebat. Tota in Christum suum anima sitiebat, totum illi non solum cordis sed corporis dedicabat. Celano, *Vita* II, p. II, c. 61 (94); p. 97 s.

5 In silvis vero et solitudinibus orans, nemora replebat gemitibus, loca aspergebat lacrimis, pectora manu tundebat, ibique quasi occultius secretarium nactus, confabulabatur saepe cum Domino suo. Ibi respondebat iudici, ibi supplicabat patri, ibi colloquebatur amico, ibi colludebat sponso. *Vita* II, p. II, c. 61 (95); p. 99.

the sweetness and the joy of things to come.[6] The inevitable climax of this mystical union with Christ, ever renewed by an ardent love of the Crucified, occurred in the wilderness of Mount Alverno when the Seraphic Saint was sealed with the stigmata. His union with Christ became union with the Crucified.[7]

Saint Francis, therefore, a pilgrim and stranger in this world, loved creatures, since in them the well-spring of that goodness that he longed for and that he tasted in his raptures was opened before his eyes.[8]

The Seraphic Doctor, Saint Bonaventure, follows, in his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, the model of his Master and Father in religion. What Saint Francis lived, the Seraphic Doctor transforms into thoughts and ideas, analyzing them, clarifying them, and formulating them into a system and method. And that is what the *Itinerarium* actually is. We do not mean to say, however, that the Seraphic Doctor singly and solely transferred the experiences and visions of Saint Francis into philosophical and theological language. For the Seraphic Doctor is both less and more than Saint Francis. He certainly is less in so far as originality and immediacy of life are concerned, for in these the Seraphic Father is unsurpassed; on the other hand, Saint Bonaventure is more because of his philosophical and theological learning, which, however, in comparison with Saint Francis' own richness, is only a substitute. Saint Francis does not need to detour over intellectual ways with reasonings and cumbersome speculations; the Seraphic Doctor needs them. But — and this matters here — he has caught in his own way the spirit of Saint Francis, the meaning of his life, his ideal, and he has made it the formative principle of a philosopher and theologian.[9] The result is the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, the pilgrimage of the soul to God, or rather, a plan of pilgrimage which the mind of an intellectual Franciscan must follow if he wishes to reach the high goal of Saint Francis, peace and rest in the foretaste of the things to come in mystical experiences.

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6 Experienti dabitur scire, non conceditur inexpertis. Sic fervore spiritus bulliens actus, et omnis aspectus et tota prorsus anima liquefacta iam incaelesti regni summa republica versabatus. *Loc. cit.*

7 Et quia minor amore semper in corde suo gerebat et conservabat Christum Iesum et hunc crucifixum, propterea signaculo suo gloriosissime supra caeteros est signatus, quem etiam, mente excedens, contemplabatur in gloria indicibili et incomprehensibili sedentem ad dextram Patris . . . *Vita* I, p. II, c. 9 (115); p. 129.

8 Siquidem fontalis illa bonitas, quae omnia in omnibus est futura iam sancto huic omnia in omnibus clarescebat. Celano, *Vita* II, p. II, c. 124 (165); p. 175.

9 *Itiner.* Prol. 2.

The *Itinerarium* was conceived on Mount Alverno, as Saint Bonaventure does not fail to mention. In fact, it is nothing else but an adaptation or interpretation of the great miracle of stigmatization wrought in the body of Saint Francis. Hence the treatise starts with the love of the Crucified, the only safe way, and ends with the mystical falling asleep with Christ on the Cross. The Seraphic Doctor has learned from Saint Francis that the Cross is not only our only hope of salvation, but also the resting place of the soul in mystical sleep. One may even go so far as to say that Saint Bonaventure's mysticism is distinguished from all preceding by the place he assigns to the Crucified in the mystical union. In the mystical crucifixion of Saint Francis was reached the climax of perfect contemplation. Saint Francis is the model thereof.[10] The Seraphic Doctor, therefore, received his deepest mystical inspiration from Saint Francis, and not from Saint Bernard nor from Dionysius. From the latter he borrowed the language; from the former, many details; but from Saint Francis he learned that the mystical experience takes place with Christ on the Cross. Whereas Saint Bernard considered meditation on the Passion of Christ a rather imperfect devotion, belonging to the *amor carnalis*, and whereas he associates mystical experience more with the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, Saint Bonaventure gives devotion to the Passion a central position and connects mystical experience more with Christ crucified. This mysticism is essentially Christocentric, as is his philosophy and theology.

The Seraphic Doctor learned likewise from Saint Francis the utmost importance of desire. Here again, we are in a typically Franciscan atmosphere. Like his Father, Saint Bonaventure is deeply impressed by the conviction that man's life here upon earth is a pilgrimage and that the acute consciousness of it prepares one for the contemplative life. Not only does the title of the work suggest it, not only do the ardent words of the Prologue, speaking time and again of the heart's deepest desire for peace and ultimately, for ecstatic peace, leave no doubt about it, but the short yet significant beginning of the work after the Prologue: "Here begins the contemplation of the poor man in the desert," shows that the whole tract is of truly Franciscan inspiration. The Seraphic Doctor went to Mount Alverno to find that peace for which Saint Francis had sighed in every prayer. He knew well that he was still in the desert, but at least he also could sigh for peace and try to get a foretaste of the peace of the Heavenly City, the City of peace — Jerusalem, by following Saint Francis to the height of his contemplation. He knew that men of desire

10 *Itiner.* VII, 3.

would not fail to rest for at least a few moments in the peace which is not of this world.

For such men of desire, truly strangers and pilgrims in this exile, the Seraphic Doctor has written his *Itinerarium*, a guidebook for pilgrims on their way to the City of peace. He would help them prepare for a foretaste of the delights of this peace in mystical union. In this the Seraphic Doctor leads us in a way different from that of Saint Francis, although still in his spirit. He would help especially those to whom Providence has allotted the vocation of learning. They too, not only the simple ones like Saint Francis, are called to the contemplative life. They too, although less unsophisticated and so often spoiled by their intellectualism and so often in danger of pride and vainglory, may aspire to the mystical peace and taste how sweet the Lord is by means of their scientific culture. In the *Itinerarium* a Saint and great Master of Theology has made the successful attempt to force scientific culture in its broadest ambit into the service of mysticism.

Did the Seraphic Doctor abandon his Seraphic Father in this? As to the letter, yes; as to the spirit, no. Saint Francis did not need or want scientific culture for himself; the simple word of God and of nature provided his rich soul with all necessary spiritual food. Saint Bonaventure needed a scientific culture, but he transformed it in the spirit of Saint Francis. Everything that nature and culture could offer him became for him, too, a means of lifting his mind to his Father in heaven. When Saint Bonaventure went to the venerated Mount Alverno, he brought with him his great learning, yet he submitted it to the spirit of Saint Francis. What he tasted and what he experienced there entered into a fruitful union with the treasures that had been handed down to him from the Fathers, especially from Saint Augustine, and from the great philosophers of the Greek and Islamic world — treasures which had been analyzed, discussed, purified, and enlarged by contemporary theologians. Everything that was true, honest, and useful had to serve as steps which would enable him to reach the high goal of the mystical union, of which the Seraphic Father was the model. "This, then, must be the fruit of all sciences: that through them faith is strengthened, 'God is honored,' morals are well-ordered, and those pleasures are experienced, which result from the union of the Bridegroom and His bride . . ."[11]

For that reason, the Seraphic Doctor turns toward all creatures and asks them to tell him something about God, Who is his heart's desire. He not only asks the world as it appears to his senses;

11 Saint Bonaventure, *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, 26 (V, 325).

with the help of Aristotelean and Augustinian psychology, he also gets answers from the same world as it is perceived in sense-apprehension, in the delight of the senses, and in the immediate judgment about them in abstraction. He then turns with Saint Augustine to the wide halls of his memory, the mind's consciousness, and beholds, full of admiration, the image of the most blessed Trinity reflected in the soul. But immediately the theologian reveals to him a still more excellent beauty in the supernaturally transformed similitude of God, a soul in grace, where God Himself dwells with all His supernatural treasures of various gifts. Again he takes a step forward, beholding and fixing his mental eyes on the idea of *being* in an unsurpassed *Meditatio metaphysica*, which brings his soul, flooded by grace, into immediate touch with God the One. Again the theologian, now at the utmost extent of his powers, leads the mind to the spectacle of the abundant goodness of God unfolding itself in the mystery of the blessed Trinity.

Such speculations we do not expect from Saint Francis; we do, however, expect them from a Seraphic soul filled with the treasures of philosophy and theology. Hence we conclude, by way of repetition, that the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* of Saint Bonaventure is an essentially Franciscan tract, outlining for men in the spirit of Saint Francis the contemplative life of Saint Francis. Saint Francis is the model of the *Itinerarium*, since Saint Francis is the model of the contemplative life itself.

II. THE MEANING AND PLACE OF THE *ITINERARIUM*

The *Itinerarium* is a mystical writing. It is not concerned with a metaphysical approach to God or even with giving proofs of the existence of God, nor is it simply the pious meditations of a philosopher or a theologian; rather, the *Itinerarium* is addressed to those who are ready to answer the divine call to live the mystical life and to taste of God's sweetness in ecstatic union. This mystical meaning and character of the *Itinerarium* will become more evident in the following short outline of the Seraphic Doctor's mystical theology. We shall assign the work its proper place within this mystical theology, and then attempt to explain the meaning of "speculation" *(speculatio)*.

Saint Bonaventure has a definite system of mystical theology and has conceived it as something different from theology in general, though, of course, in intimate connection with it.[12] In order to discover his mystical theology, we need to consider, not so much his main work, the *Commentary on the Sentences*, as a few smaller tracts and sermons where the Seraphic Doctor teaches us not a system but rather the practice of mysticism. It is not too difficult to abstract from these works the teachings of Saint Bonaventure in mystical theology, as has been done in so masterly a way by Fr. Ephrem Longpré, who has given us an excellent synthesis based on his own research and that of others, in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.[13] We shall make extensive use of it in the following exposition.

The mystical life is based on the order of grace. In his original state in Paradise, man was fit for the quiet of contemplation. Sin, however, has thrown man into utter incapacity; it has crippled and stooped and blinded him. Man, who was created after the image of God and distinguished by the supernatural likeness of God, lost this likeness and was left with a disfigured and dull image far removed from Him. He cannot help himself to regain his former dignity. Only grace with all its ramifications can transform him and restore him to his original state. Through

12 He defines it: "Tota mystica theologia consistit in dilectione excessiva secundum triplicem viam hierarchicam: purgativam, illuminativam, perfectivam." *Comment. in Evang. Lucam*, 3, 21 (VII, 349). Cf. also *Archivum Franc. Hist.* 14 (1921), pp. 36—108.

13 Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., "Bonaventure (saint)," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, cols. 1768—1843.

Christ, sanctifying grace will create anew the supernatural likeness of God in the soul *(recreatio);* the infused virtues — the theological and cardinal virtues — will rectify and straighten the stooped soul *(rectificatio);* the sacraments will cure the soul of its sicknesses and weaknesses *(sanatio);* the gifts of the Holy Spirit will facilitate the soul's spiritual progress *(expeditio);* and finally, the beatitudes will lead the soul to the height of perfection *(perfectio).* All this is accomplished if grace meets with an active cooperation by a just life, one led in accordance with the precepts of God.

As by grace, man's deadly wound is finally cured and original health restored, so the blindness of his mind, contracted by original sin, is illuminated by the revelation in Christ. The Book of Holy Scripture, or theology, in its three ramifications, gives back to man his true vision. Symbolical theology enables him to decipher the Book of Nature and to understand the various analogies of creatures; theology in the proper sense opens the treasures of knowledge; and mystical theology teaches the way to mystical union.

This is, as it were, the foundation of the spiritual edifice of man's supernatural life. Within it and on it must be built up the mystical or the contemplative life of man. There is no separation between them. On the contrary, according to the Seraphic Doctor, the latter is, so to speak, the natural crowning of the former, and hence all men are called to the mystical life, although only a few actually reach it.

A description of the mystical life can follow either the three ways that lead up to mystical union and each way by means of three exercises, or it may follow out these exercises which in a certain sequence prepare the soul for mystical union on each way.[14] We shall adopt here the method of following the three ways, since it will help us considerably to assign the *Itinerarium* its proper place, although Saint Bonaventure chose the method of the three exercises in his precious work, *De Triplici Via.*

The mystical life consists in three ways and in three exercises. The ways are the purgative, the illuminative, and the perfective or unitive; the exercises are meditation, prayer, and contemplation. When emphasizing the activity of the soul on these three ways, the Seraphic Doctor prefers to speak of hierarchical acts, since they cause the soul to conform to the celestial hierarchy. All these ways or hierarchical acts lead to contemplation in the strict sense. Although they have an order, the purgative way being the first and the perfective way the highest, nevertheless, the soul, striving after the highest experience of the religious life here upon earth,

14 Cf. *Brevil.*, V, 6 (V, 258—260).

always remains on these ways and always has to practice the hierarchical acts. The first leads to peace; the second, to truth; the third, to charity. Correspondingly, the soul makes use of its three powers or aspects, of the *stimulus conscientiae* (self-examination), the *radius intelligentiae* (the ray of intelligence), and the *igniculus sapientiae* (the spark of wisdom).

On the purgative way, the soul is mainly concerned with its own misery and pitiful condition because of original and personal sin. The purgative act is practiced in meditation, prayer, and contemplation. Purgative meditation has as its main object, self-examination; its main purpose is to bring to bitter consciousness the soul's moral disorder and the grave danger which it entails, thus achieving a complete detachment from all sinful inclination. Purgative prayer transforms meditation into weeping and deploring sin and into asking for mercy; its main affections are pain, shame, and fear. Purgative contemplation, finally, leads the soul from shame to fear, from fear to pain, then to imploring prayer, to rigor and severity, and finally to ardor which culminates in the desire for martyrdom, the ultimate purification of love, and makes the soul rest and fall asleep in mystical peace under the shadow of Christ.

On the illuminative way, the soul is mainly concerned with a penetration into truth. The illuminative act is likewise practiced in meditation, in prayer (which is less clearly expressed by Saint Bonaventure), and in contemplation. Illuminative meditation turns the ray of intelligence to the multitude of sins forgiven by God's mercy, broadens it then to show all the benefits of God, natural and supernatural, and finally turns it back to the Giver of all of them, Who has still greater rewards awaiting the soul in heaven. Illuminative prayer, according to Saint Bonaventure, has, it seems, as its main task to ask for mercy and help in union with the Holy Spirit, groaning in us by an ardent desire, in union with Christ by trusting hope, and in union with the Saints by their intercession. Illuminative contemplation finally leads to the splendor of truth by imitating Christ, or to be more exact, by an impregnation of our mind with the passion of Christ, and that again in seven steps: first there is a humble submission of reason to a God who was crucified, followed by deep compassion, admiration, grateful devotion, the putting on the form of the suffering of Christ, and finally, the ardent embrace of the Cross, in which and through which the splendor of truth will dawn.

On the perfective or unitive way, the soul is mainly concerned with charity. It is the perfective act that is now practiced in meditation, in prayer, and in contemplation. In meditation the spark of wisdom must be kept aloof from all attachment to

creatures, must be enkindled by turning to the love of the Bridegroom, and must be elevated beyond the senses, the imagination, and the understanding into a blaze of desire for the Bridegroom who is absolutely desirable. In perfective prayer the soul is prostrated in adoration and deep reverence, in benevolence and complacence, becoming one with God in the fire of love. Here Saint Bonaventure adds the six degrees of the love of God. In perfective contemplation the soul again reaches the sweetness of love in seven degrees: vigilance for the coming of the Bridegroom is first; then confidence in Him; third, a deep longing for Him; fourth, a rising beyond oneself to the height of the Bridegroom; fifth, complacence that dwells on the comeliness of the Bridegroom; sixth, joy in the abundance of the Bridegroom; seventh, a union of the soul with the Bridegroom in the sweetness of love.

These are the ways and the three main exercises of the soul which has followed the call to mystical union, as explained by the Seraphic Doctor in *De Triplici Via*. But when we open the *Itinerarium*, we see immediately that the scheme of this mystical tract is quite different. Neither the three ways nor the three main exercises are clearly distinguished. Is the *Itinerarium*, if not in contradiction, nevertheless in opposition or at least indifferent to the mysticism of *De Triplici Via*? We know that Saint Bonaventure wrote the latter work after the *Itinerarium;* yet a change in his mystical doctrine is out of the question. In fact, it is not difficult to place the *Itinerarium* within the system of mysticism that we find developed in *De Triplici Via*. Where would be, then, the proper place of the *Itinerarium*?

It has been said that its proper place is in the perfective way, but we believe that it belongs rather to the illuminative way, reaching at the end the contemplation of the unitive way and merging with it. For throughout the six chapters of the *Itinerarium* we are concerned with six *illuminationum suspensiones* (uplifting illuminations), as the Prologue (n. 3) says. This is confirmed by the introduction to the first chapter, where the Seraphic Doctor, after having explained the division of the various illuminations, finally, in (n. 8) gives an unmistakable indication of the proper place that the *Itinerarium* occupies in his mystical system. There he teaches that those who desire to ascend to the height of mysticism must first turn away from sin; given this, they must pray that grace may reform them, and lead a holy life that justice may purify them. This stage seems clearly to be of the purgative way. Thereafter, they must practice meditation that they may be illumined by knowledge. This stage seems to be of the illuminative way. Finally, they must devote themselves to contemplation

that they may be perfected by wisdom. This stage certainly belongs to the perfective way. The six steps of the *Itinerarium*, as expressly stated by Saint Bonaventure, precede perfective or unitive contemplation, and follow upon prayer and a holy life: "Thus we must first of all pray; next, we must live holily; then we must gaze at the spectacles of truth, and by gazing at them, ascend step by step, until we reach the mountain height, 'where the God of gods is seen on Sion.'"[15]

On the illuminative way, the speculations of the *Itinerarium* belong partly to meditation, partly and mainly to contemplation. They belong partly to meditation, for they concern the benefits of God in nature and supernature, yet they belong mainly to contemplation, because illuminative contemplation is centered on the Passion of Christ, which is reached in the *Itinerarium* at this point. Hence we could justly say that the *Itinerarium* is but a different method of contemplation in the illuminative way.[16] In the *De Triplici Via* the Seraphic Doctor has described various methods for perfective contemplation. He has presented only one method for illuminative contemplation, which is essentially a transformation into Christ crucified. The *Itinerarium* has exactly the same aim. It starts with Christ crucified and ends with Christ crucified, with whom the soul falls asleep on the Cross. While the seven degrees of the *De Triplici Via* describe the progress of contemplation in a more general manner and, as it were, for everyone ready and willing to follow the mystical call, the *Itinerarium* describes the progress of contemplation in a special manner for men of learning. So we reach the same conclusion as before, that the *Itinerarium* is the guidebook in an ascent to God which leads the soul through the medium of scientific culture.

We are now in a condition to understand the meaning of the terms "speculation," "consideration," "contemplation," and even "meditation," as used by the Seraphic Doctor to characterize the same exercise on the various steps. All these expressions, when used in the *Itinerarium*, mean almost always the same thing. The preferred term is *speculatio*. It is consciously seen by the Seraphic Doctor in connection with *speculum*, mirror, and as the mirroring function of the mind which reflects all things from the lowest to the highest — the *spectacula veritatis*, the mirrored objects of truth.

15 *Itiner.* I, 8.

16 There is also the correspondence between contemplation and the angelic hierarchies: the Thrones, corresponding to the purgative way *(sopor pacis)*; the Cherubim, corresponding to the illuminative way *(splendor veritatis)*; and the Seraphim, corresponding to the perfective or unitive way *(dulcor caritatis)*. Cf. *De triplici via*, III, 1 (VIII, 11—12). Cf. also *In Hexaem.*, XXII, 21—23 (V, 440—441).

For the soul or the mind is a mirror,[17] as are likewise all creatures. This mirroring function, or speculation, of the *Itinerarium* — which has a relationship with the original meaning of *theoria* — can be more definitely characterized by its connotations.

In the first place, it connotes, of course, an intellectual element, which is neither reasoning in the strict sense, nor intuition as a direct vision of God; it is, as the Seraphic Doctor time and again says, contuition. Intuition of God is denied to man here upon earth, but a contuition, that is, a beholding of God through and in His effects in the natural and supernatural order and even in the highest ideas, *being* and *goodness*, is the proper task of man in illuminative contemplation. It connotes, furthermore, a mystical disposition; it is not a contuition of any man, however acute his intellect may be; it is the contuition of a mystic who is purified and advancing toward the highest degree of contemplation. It connotes, finally, the mystical stage of admiration, that is, the state of reverential amazement which seizes the soul and raises it up beyond itself when beholding the inaccessible grandeur and splendor of the divine manifestations of eternal Truth. Thus we may say that this speculation, which is but another word for contemplation of the intellect as distinct from contemplation of the will or love, is a mystical operation by which the soul is lifted up in admiration when beholding God through contuition in the divine manifestations of Truth in the world outside, inside, and above the mind.

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17 *Itiner.* Prol. n. 4.

III. THE PLAN OF THE *ITINERARIUM*

We are now prepared to understand the plan of the *Itinerarium*. The Prologue and the Introduction to the first chapter serve only to prepare the mind for the ascent that it is about to make. The last chapter leads the mind to the goal itself, to mystical union, to peace in Christ crucified. The six intervening chapters describe the ascent, which starts with things outside, and passing through things within, transcends them to the things beyond the mind. On these three steps, each of which is subdivided, the soul remains in the realm of nature and supernature common to all Christians and no special revelations are supposed. Everything that reason and faith, philosophy and theology teach us is used to build a ladder from the lowest creatures to the highest ideas, by means of which the mind finally plunges into the joy of the Blessed Trinity through and in Christ crucified.

The three main steps are not only required by the subject matter, but they had already become common knowledge since the time of Saint Augustine. None of the great theologians and masters of the spiritual life had neglected them. Yet it is true that the Seraphic Doctor adapted this main division to his particular purpose. This becomes more evident when we consider that Saint Bonaventure further subdivides the three into six steps or degrees. Herein we find only faint similarities between the scheme of Saint Bonaventure and that proposed by other spiritual writers. The closest resemblance seems to be that of the six steps plotted by Richard of St. Victor in his *Benjamin Major*. However, in spite of the fact that Richard also uses the analogy of the six wings of the Seraph, the arrangement and disposition of the matter of contemplation on the various steps are quite different from Saint Bonaventure's scheme. For the latter is essentially inspired by the miracle that happened to Saint Francis, that is, by the apparition of the Seraph with six wings in the image of the Crucified. It is the Franciscan inspiration which, in spite of the apparently artificial scheme, governs the arrangement and the matter of contemplation on the various steps.

These steps are briefly summarized as follows:

A. The speculation of God through and in the world outside the mind.

First Step: The enlightened mind turns its sense faculties to things subject to the senses and beholds God's power, wisdom, and goodness in all creatures, and hence the various sciences are put at the service of the mystical ascent. God's power, providence, and justice are recognized in the course of history, and thus history, in its turn, is put at the service of the mystical ascent. God's transcendence beyond all change and corruptibility is seen, and metaphysics is then put at the service of the mystical ascent. In addition, the Seraphic Doctor, following his beloved Master, Hugo of Saint Victor, enlarges on this speculation by considering the seven properties of created things subject to the senses.

Second Step: The enlightened mind turns its imagination, that is, its power of representing things, to sense data and beholds in these psychological facts vestiges, that is, faint analogies of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity and especially of the Incarnation. The judgment, especially, which plays an important role in the Seraphic Doctor's theory of abstraction, leads the speculation up to the eternal art or rule, to which the mind is subject in judging. Again, this speculation is enlarged by considering the various kinds of numbers which govern all things. Sense-psychology and mathematics are thus put at the service of the mystical ascent.

B. The speculation of God through and in the mind itself.

Third Step: The enlightened soul now turns to itself, the natural image of God, and beholds in the process of thinking a clear reflection of the life of the Blessed Trinity, according to the image of which the mind was formed. Again, this speculation is enlarged by considering all the various sciences which ultimately come from God and lead back to God, the eternal Art. This is the theme of *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, which finds its proper place here. The psychology of cognition and the whole of philosophy are thus put at the service of the mystical ascent.

Fourth Step: The enlightened mind turns next to the dwelling place of God in the soul which has regained its supernatural likeness — the similitude. The entire beauty of the soul is displayed, not so much for speculation, but rather in the act of unfolding its supernatural riches by putting on the virtues, regaining the spiritual senses and its own hierarchization in conformity with the celestial hierarchy. The beholder is at the same time the actor. Speculation is again enlarged, this time by Holy Scripture. Thus theology is put at the service of the mystical ascent.

C. The speculation of God in His essential and personal attributes above the mind.

Fifth Step: The soul is now ready to transcend itself and to enter the Holy of Holies. With its eyes illuminated by the divine light, the mind has found God in the world subject to the senses and in the inner world. Now it gathers all its strength in order to think the most precious ideas that it is capable of grasping. It fixes its gaze on the ideas of being and goodness. Full of admiration, it turns to the idea of being and it realizes in a kind of experiential cognition that it cannot think of any reality unless it conceives it as being; not even the idea of nothing can be thought of unless there is first thought the idea of being. Being in its purity, in its absolute actuality, dawns upon its understanding: the Being which is the beginning and the end, the center and the circumference, infinite and absolutely simple. It is here that metaphysics is put at the service of the highest mystical speculation, where the dry and abstract metaphysical terms are transformed into a mystical experience of that reality to which they point.

Sixth Step: While the mind is still gazing at the idea of being, it realizes that being is also the good. It grasps the tremendous truth that the first is also the last, that being is also self-communicating love. The mind realizes that the good cannot remain in its solitude; it must display itself in those infinite exuberances which are the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one Essence. It is here that speculative theology guides the contemplative mind, not only to reflect upon, but, as it were, to assist at the display of the vigorous life of the triune God. In the vision of this divine drama, the mind reaches its highest perfection. It looks at the perfect image of the Father — at Christ, who, in one Person, unites the highest and the lowest, the center and the circumference, the divine and the human nature.

Now the soul has climbed the towering mountain. It has reached the innermost point of its own being — the *apex mentis*. Here the contemplation of the two highest ideas face each other like the two Cherubs on the Ark of the Covenant. The power of the intellect is at its end. But the desire of the soul is not yet satisfied. Who will help further? For the mind not only longs to apprehend the triune God; it ardently desires to reach Him, to be with Him, to be one with Him. Who will help it bridge the cleft which separates it from union with the Beloved — a cleft humanly-speaking unbridgeable?

The soul is a creature; God, however, is the Absolute. Yet there is one Being that is between the Absolute and that which is almost nothing — the Mediator, Jesus Christ. As the Crucified One, he came to Saint Francis and transformed him to His image. Upon the Crucified now the soul must fix its gaze and wait, full of confidence, expecting from His grace the ultimate union with God. Like the two Cherubs, it is turned toward the Ark of the Covenant. In the Crucified the soul knows that everything is given — everything, even the grace of mystical union. Under a mighty impulse of divine love, in bliss, it plunges into the darkness, falling asleep with Christ on the Cross, feeling as much as is possible in this earthly life what Christ spoke to the Robber: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise."[18] Now the soul is at rest in its "learned ignorance" *(docta ignorantia)*[19] in this nocturnal and delightful illumination *(nocturna et deliciosa illuminatio)*. The intellect and all intellectual powers are silent and asleep; only love is awake, for love reaches further than the intellect. The soul is one with God in the experience of His love.

This is the way the *Itinerarium* leads us up to the highest point of mystical experience. Christ is the beginning, Christ is the end of this journey.

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18 Luke 23, 43.
19 Cf. *Brevil.*, V, 6 (V, 260).

TEXT WITH TRANSLATION

ITINERARIUM MENTIS IN DEUM

PROLOGUS

1. In principio primum principium, a quo cunctae illuminationes descendunt tanquam *a Patre luminum*, a quo est *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum*,[1] Patrem scilicet aeternum, invoco per Filium eius, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut intercessione sanctissimae Virginis Mariae, genitricis eiusdem Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et beati Francisci, ducis et patris nostri, *det illuminatos oculos* mentis nostrae *ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis* illius, *quae exsuperat omnem sensum*,[2] quam pacem evangelizavit et dedit Dominus noster Iesus Christus; cuius praedicationis repetitor fiut pater noster Franciscus, in omni sua praedicatione pacem in principio et in fine annuntians, in omni salutatione pacem optans, in omni contemplatione ad ecstaticam pacem suspirans, tanquam civis illius Ierusalem, de qua dicit vir ille pacis, qui *cum his qui oderunt pacem, erat pacificus: Rogate quae ad pacem sunt Ierusalem*. Sciebat enim, quod thronus Salomonis non erat nisi in pace, cum scriptum sit: *In pace factus est locus eius, et habitatio eius in Sion*.[3]

2. Cum igitur exemplo beatissimi patris Francisci hanc pacem anhelo spiritu quaererem, ego peccator, qui loco ipsius patris beatissimi post eius transitum septimus in generali fratrum ministerio per omnia indignus succedo; contigit ut nutu divino circa Beati ipsius transitum, anno trigesimo tertio ad montem Alvernae tanquam ad locum quietum amore quaerendi pacem spiritus declinarem, ibique existens, dum mente tractarem aliquas mentales ascensiones in Deum, inter alia occurit illud miraculum, quod in praedicto loco contigit ipsi beato Francisco, de visione scilicet Seraph alati ad instar Crucifixi. In cuius consideratione statim visum est mihi, quod visio illa praetenderet ipsius patris suspensionem in contemplando et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam.

1 Iac. 1, 17.
2 *Eph.* 1, 17; Luc. 1, 79; *Phil.* 4, 7. Cf. Ioan. 14, 27.
3 *Ps.* 119, 7; *Ps.* 121, 6; *Ps.* 75, 3

THE ITINERARY OF THE MIND INTO GOD

PROLOGUE

1. In the beginning[1] I call upon the First Beginning whence all enlightenment flows as from the *Father of Lights*[2] from Whom is *every good gift and every perfect gift.* I call upon the Eternal Father through His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of that same Lord Jesus Christ, and through that of blessed Francis, our guide and father, He may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into *the way of* that *peace*[3] *which surpasses all understanding.*

This is the peace which our Lord Jesus Christ preached to us and which He gave to us. This message of peace our father Francis ever repeated, announcing peace[4] at the beginning and at the end of every sermon, making every greeting a wish for peace, every prayer a sigh for ecstatic peace, like a citizen of that Jerusalem about which the Man of Peace, who was peaceable with those that hated peace, exhorts us concerning it: *Pray ye for the things that are to the peace of Jerusalem.* For he knew indeed that only in peace was fixed the throne of Salomon, as it is written: *In peace is his place and his abode is in Sion.*

2. Inspired by the example of our blessed father, Francis, I sought after this peace with yearning soul — sinner that I am and all unworthy, yet seventh successor as Minister to all the brethren in the place of the blessed father after his death. It happened that, thirty-three years after the death of the Saint,[5] about the time of his passing, moved by a divine impulse, I withdrew to Mount Alverno as to a place of quiet, there to satisfy the yearning of my soul for peace. While I abode there, pondering on certain spiritual ascents to God, there occurred to me, among other things, that miracle which in this very place had happened to the blessed Francis — the vision he received of the winged seraph in the form of the Crucified. As I reflected on this marvel, it immediately seemed to me that this vision suggested the uplifting of Saint Francis in contemplation and that it pointed out the way by which that state of contemplation can be reached.

3. Nam per senas alas illas recte intelligi possunt sex illuminationum suspensiones, quibus anima quasi quibusdam gradibus vel itineribus disponitur, ut transeat ad pacem per ecstaticos excessus sapientiae christianae. Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi, qui adeo Paulum ad *tertium caelum raptum* transformavit in Christum, ut diceret: *Christo confixus sum cruci, vivo autem, iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus;*[4] qui etiam adeo mentem Francisci absorbuit, quod mense in carne patuit, dum sacratissima passionis stigmata in corpore suo ante mortem per biennium deportavit. Effigies igitur sex alarum seraphicarum insinuat sex illuminationes scalares, quae a creaturis incipiunt et perducunt usque ad Deum, ad quem nemo intrat recte nisi per Crucifixum. Nam *qui non intrat per ostium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur et latro. Si quis* vero per hoc ostium *introierit, ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inveniet.*[5] Propter quod dicit Ioannes in Apocalypsi: *Beati qui lavant vestimenta sua in sanguine Agni, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae, et per portas ingrediantur civitatem;*[6] quasi dicat, quod per contemplationem ingredi non potest Ierusalem supernam, nisi per sanguinem Agni intret tanquam per portam. Non enim dispositus est aliquo modo ad contemplationes divinas, quae ad mentales ducunt excessus, nisi cum Daniele sit *vir desideriorum.*[7] Desideria autem in nobis inflammantur dupliciter, scilicet per *clamorem orationis*, quae rugire facit *a gemitu cordis*[8] et per *fulgorem speculationis*, qua mens ad radios lucis directissime et intensissime se convertit.

4. Igitur ad gemitum orationis per Christum crucifixum, per cuius sanguinem purgamur a sordibus vitiorum[9] primum quidem lectorem invito, ne forte credat, quod sibi sufficiat lectio sine unctione,[10] speculatio sine devotione, investigatio sine admiratione, circumspectio sine exsultatione, industria sine pietate, scientia sine caritate, intelligentia sine humilitate, studium absque divina gratia, speculum absque sapientia divinitus inspirata. — Praeventis igitur divina gratia, humilibus et piis, compunctis et devotis,

4 II *Cor.* 12, 2; *Gal.* 2, 20.
5 Ioan. 10, 1; *ibid.* 9.
6 *Apoc.* 22, 14.
7 Dan. 9, 23.
8 *Ps.* 37, 9.
9 *Hebr.* 1, 3.
10 Ioan. 2, 20 et 27.

3. The six wings of the seraph can be rightly understood as signifying the six uplifting[6] illuminations by which the soul is disposed, as by certain grades or steps, to pass over[7] to peace through the exstatic transports of Christian wisdom. The road to this peace is through nothing else than a most ardent love of the Crucified, the love which so transformed Paul into Christ when he was rapt to the third heaven that he declared: *With Christ I am nailed to the Cross. It is now no longer I that live, but Christ lives in me.* And this love so absorbed the soul of Francis too that his spirit shone through his flesh the last two years of his life, when he bore the most holy marks of the Passion in his body.[8]

The figure of the six wings of the Seraph, therefore, brings to mind the six steps of illumination which begin with creatures and lead up to God, Whom no one rightly enters save through the Crucified. For *he who enters not by the door, but climbs up another way, is a thief and a robber. But if anyone enter* by this door, *he shall go in and out, and shall find pastures.* For this reason Saint John writes in the *Apocalypse: Blessed are they who wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb, that they may have the right to the tree of life, and that by the gates they may enter into the city.* That is to say, no one can enter by contemplation into the heavenly Jerusalem unless he enters through the blood of the Lamb as through a door. For no one is in any way disposed for divine contemplations that lead to spiritual transports[9] unless, like the prophet Daniel, he is also *a man of desires.* Now such desires[10] are enkindled in us in two ways: through the outcries of prayer, which makes us groan from anguish of heart, and through the refulgence of speculation by which our mind most directly and intently turns itself toward the rays of light.

4. Wherefore, it is to groans of prayer[11] through Christ Crucified, in whose blood we are cleansed from the filth of vices, that I first of all invite the reader. Otherwise he may come to think that mere reading will suffice without unction, speculation[12] without devotion, investigation without admiration, observation without exultation, industry without piety, knowledge without love, understanding without humility, study without divine grace, the mirror without divinely inspired wisdom.

To those, therefore, who are already disposed by divine grace, to the humble and pious, to the contrite and devout, to those who are anointed with the *oil of gladness,* to the lovers of divine wisdom and to those inflamed with a desire for it, to those who wish to give themselves to glorifying, admiring, and even savoring[13] God — to those I propose the following considerations. At the same time, I wish to warn them that the mirror of the external

unctis *oleo laetitiae*[11] et amatoribus divinae sapientiae et eius desiderio inflammatis, vacare volentibus ad Deum magnificandum, admirandum et etiam degustandum, speculationes subiectas propono, insinuans, quod parum aut nihil est speculum exterius propositum, nisi speculum mentis nostrae tersum fuerit et politum. Exerce igitur te, homo Dei, prius ad stimulum conscientiae remordentem, antequam oculos eleves ad radios sapientiae in eius speculis relucentes, ne forte ex ipsa radiorum speculatione in graviorem incidas foveam tenebrarum.

5. Placuit autem distinguere tractatum in septem capitula, praemittendo titulos ad faciliorem intelligentiam dicendorum. Rogo igitur, quod magis pensetur intentio scribentis quam opus, magis dictorum sensus quam sermo incultus, magis veritas quam venustas, magis exercitatio affectus quam eruditio intellectus. Quod ut fiat, non est harum speculationum progressus perfunctorie transcurrendus, sed morosissime ruminandus.

Explicit Prologus

11 *Ps.* 44, 8.

world put before them[14] is of little or no avail unless the mirror of our soul has been cleansed and polished. First, then, O man of God, arouse in yourself remorse of conscience before you raise your eyes to the rays of divine Wisdom reflected in its mirrors, lest perchance from the very beholding of these rays you fall into a more perilous pit of darkness.

5. I have thought it well to divide this tract into seven chapters and have prefixed a title to each for the easier understanding of the matter therein. I entreat the reader to weigh the intention of the writer rather than the work, the meaning of the words rather than the uncultivated style, the truth rather than the adornment, and the exercise of the affections rather than the instruction of the mind. He who would achieve this ought not to run hurriedly through these considerations, but rather take his time and mull them slowly.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA

Primum capitulum, de gradibus ascensionis in Deum et de speculatione ipsius per vestigia eius in universo.

Secundum capitulum, de speculatione Dei in vestigiis suis in hoc sensibili mundo.

Tertium capitulum, de speculatione Dei per suam imaginem naturalibus potentiis insignitam.

Quartum capitulum, de speculatione Dei in sua imagine donis gratuitis reformata.

Quintum capitulum, de speculatione divinae unitatis per eius nomen primarium, quod est *esse*.

Sextum capitulum, de speculatione beatissimae Trinitatis in eius nomine, quod est *bonum*.

Septimum capitulum, de excessu mentali et mystico, in quo requies datur intellectui, affectu in Deum per excessum totaliter transeunte.

Expliciunt capitula.

CHAPTER HEADINGS

CHAPTER ONE

The Steps in the Ascent to God and the Consideration of Him through His Footsteps in the Universe

CHAPTER TWO

The Consideration of God in His Footsteps in this Visible World

CHAPTER THREE

The Consideration of God through His Image Imprinted on Our Natural Powers

CHAPTER FOUR

The Consideration of God in His Image Reformed through the Gifts of Grace

CHAPTER FIVE

The Consideration of the Divine Unity through Its Primary Name which is *Being*

CHAPTER SIX

The Consideration of the Most Blessed Trinity in Its Name which is the *Good*

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Mystical Transport of the Mind in which Rest is Given to Our Understanding and Our Affection Passes over Entirely to God

INCIPIT SPECULATIO PAUPERIS IN DESERTO

CAP. I

De gradibus ascensionis in Deum
et de speculatione ipsius per vestigia eius in universo

1. *Beatus vir, cuius est auxilium abs te! ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in valle lacrymarum, in loco, quem posuit.*[1] Cum beatitudo nihil aliud sit, quam summi boni fruitio; et summum bonum sit supra nos: nullus potest effici beatus, nisi supra semetipsum ascendat, non ascensu corporali, sed cordiali. Sed supra nos levari non possumus nisi per virtutem superiorem nos elevantem. Quantumcumque enim gradus interiores disponantur, nihil fit, nisi divinum auxilium comitetur. Divinum autem auxilium comitatur eos qui petunt ex corde humiliter et devote; et hoc est ad ipsum suspirare in hac *lacrymarum valle*, quod fit per ferventem orationem. Oratio igitur est mater et origo sursum-actionis. Ideo Dionysius in libro de Mystica Theologia,[2] volens nos instruere ad excessus mentales, primo praemittit orationem. Oremus igitur et dicamus ad Dominum Deum nostrum: *Deduc me, Domine, in via tua, et ingrediar in veritate tua; laetetur cor meum, ut timeat nomen tuum.*[3]

2. In hac oratione orando illuminatur ad cognoscendum divinae ascensionis gradus. Cum enim secundum statum conditionis nostrae ipsa rerum universitas sit scala ad ascendendum in Deum; et in rebus quaedam sint *vestigium*, quaedam *imago*, quaedam *corporalia*, quaedam *spiritualia*, quaedam *temporalia*, quaedam *aeviterna*, ac per hoc quaedam *extra nos*, quaedam *intra nos;* ad hoc quod perveniamus ad primum principium considerandum, quod est *spiritualissimum* et *aeternum* et *supra nos*, oportet nos *transire* per *vestigium*, quod est *corporale* et *temporale* et *extra nos*, et hoc est *deduci in via Dei;* oportet, nos *intrare* ad mentem

1 *Ps.* 83, 6 *seq.*
2 Dionysius, *De Mystica Theologia*, 1,1.
3 *Ps.* 85, 11.

HERE BEGINS THE SPECULATION OF THE POOR MAN IN THE DESERT

CHAPTER ONE

THE STEPS IN THE ASCENT TO GOD AND THE CONSIDERATION OF HIM THROUGH HIS FOOTSTEPS IN THE UNIVERSE

1. *Blessed is the man*[1] *whose help is from thee; in his heart he hath disposed to ascend by steps in the vale of tears, in the place which he hath set.* Since happiness is nothing else than the enjoyment of the Supreme Good and the Supreme Good is above us, no one can enjoy happiness unless he rise above himself, not, indeed by a bodily ascent, but by an ascent of the heart. But we cannot rise above ourselves unless a superior power raise us. However much, then, the steps of our interior progress may be well-ordered, we can do nothing unless divine aid support us. This divine aid is at hand for all who seek it with a truly humble and devout heart. To seek thus in this vale of tears is to sigh for divine aid in fervent prayer. Prayer, then, is the mother and origin of every upward striving of the soul. Thus Dionysius, in his book, *Mystical Theology*, wishing to instruct us in the transports of soul, opens first with a prayer. Let us, therefore, pray and say to the Lord, our God: *Conduct me, O Lord, in thy way and I will enter into thy truth; let my heart rejoice that it may fear thy name.*

2. By so praying, we are given light to discern the steps of the soul's ascent to God.[2] For we are so created that the material universe itself is a ladder by which we may ascend to God. And among things, some are vestiges, others, images;[3] some corporeal, others, spiritual; some temporal, others, everlasting;[4] some things are outside us, and some within. In order to arrive at the consideration of the First Principle, which is wholly spiritual and eternal and above us, we must pass through vestiges which are corporeal and temporal and outside us. Thus we are guided in the way of God. Next we must enter into our mind, which is the image of God — an image which is everlasting, spiritual, and within us. And this is to enter the truth of God. Finally, looking at the First Principle, we must go beyond to what is eternal, absolutely

nostram quae est *imago Dei aeviterna, spiritualis* et *intra nos*, et hoc est *ingredi in veritate Dei;* oportet, nos *transcendere* ad *aeternum, spiritualissimum* et *supra nos*, aspiciendo ad primum principium, et hoc est *laetari in Dei notitia et reverentia Maiestatis.*

3. Haec est igitur via trium dierum in solitudine,[4] haec est triplex illuminatio unius diei, et prima est sicut vespera, secunda sicut mane, tertia sicut meridies; haec respicit triplicem rerum existentiam, scilicet in materia, in intelligentia et in arte aeterna, secundum quam dictum est: *fiat, fecit,* et *factum est,*[5] haec etiam respicit triplicem substantiam in Christo, qui est scala nostra, scilicet corporalem, spiritualem et divinam.

4. Secundum hunc triplicem progressum mens nostra tres habet aspectus principales. Unus est ad corporalia exteriora, secundum quem vocatur *animalitas* seu sensualitas; alius intra se et in se, secundum quem dicitur *spiritus;* tertius supra se, secundum quem dicitur *mens.* — Ex quibus omnibus disponere se debet ad conscendendum in Deum, ut ipsum diligat *ex tota mente, ex toto corde et ex tota anima,*[6] in quo consistit perfecta Legis observatio et simul cum hoc sapientia christiana.

5. Quoniam autem quilibet praedictorum modorum geminatur, secundum quod contingit considerare Deum ut *alpha et omega,*[7] seu in quantum contingit videre Deum in unoquoque praedictorum modorum ut *per speculum* et ut *in speculo*, seu quia una istarum considerationum habet commisceri alteri sibi coniunctae et habet considerari in sua puritate: hinc est, quod necesse est, hos tres gradus principales ascendere ad senarium, ut, sicut Deus sex diebus perfecit *universum mundum* et in septimo requievit, sic *minor mundus* sex gradibus illuminationum sibi succedentium ad quietem contemplationis ordinatissime perducatur. — In cuius rei figura sex gradibus ascendebatur ad thronum Salomonis,[8] Seraphim, quae vidit Isaias, senas alas habebant;[9] post sex dies *vocavit* Dominus *Moysen de medio caliginis,*[10] et Christus *post sex dies*, ut dicitur in Matthaeo, *duxit discipulos in montem et transfiguratus est ante eos.*[11]

6. Iuxta igitur sex gradus *ascensionis* in Deum sex sunt gradus *potentiarum* animae per quos ascendimus ab imis ad summa, ab exterioribus ad intima, a temporalibus conscendimus ad aeterna, scilicet *sensus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus, intelligentia* et *apex*

4 *Exod.* 3, 18. 5 *Gen.* 1, 3.
6 Marc. 12, 30. Cf. Matth. 22, 37; Luc. 10, 27.
7 *Apoc.* 1, 8. 8 III *Reg.* 10, 19. 9 Isai. 6, 2.
10 *Exod.* 24, 16. 11 Matth. 17, 1 *seqq.*

spiritual, and above us. This is to rejoice in the knowledge of God and in the reverent fear of His Majesty.

3. This triple way of seeing, then, is the three days' journey in the wilderness;[5] it is the threefold enlightenment of a single day: the first is like evening; the second, morning; and the third, noon day. It reflects the threefold existence of things: in matter, in the understanding, and in the eternal art,[6] according to which it was said: *Let it be made, He made it,* and *it was made.*[7] Finally, it reflects the threefold substance in Christ, Who is our ladder: the corporeal, the spiritual, and the divine substance.

4. In keeping with this threefold progression, our mind has three principal ways of perceiving.[8] In the first way it looks at the corporeal things outside itself, and so acting, it is called animality or sensitivity. In the second, it looks within itself, and is then called spirit. In the third, it looks above itself, and is then called mind. All three ways should be employed to ascend to God, so that He may be loved *with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind.* Herein lies the perfect observance of the Law and at the same time, Christian wisdom.

5. Each of the foregoing ways of seeing may be subdivided according to whether we consider God as the *Alpha* and the *Omega,* or whether we consider Him in any one of the aforesaid ways as through and as in a mirror. Or we may consider each of these ways in conjunction with another that is related to it, and in itself.[9] Therefore, these three principal steps of ascent must be increased to six in number. Thus, just as God completed the whole world in six days and on the seventh rested, so the lesser world is led in a most orderly fashion, through six progressive steps of enlightenment, to the quiet of contemplation. Symbolically, the ascent to the throne of Solomon rose by six steps; the Seraphim that Isaias saw had six wings; after six days the Lord called Moses out of the midst of the cloud; and as St. Matthew tells us, it was *after six days* that Christ *led them up a high montain by themselves, and was transfigured before them.*

6. Corresponding, therefore, to the six steps in the ascent to God, there are six gradated powers of the soul, whereby we ascend from the lowest to the highest,[10] from external things to those that are within, and from the temporal to the eternal. These six powers are the senses, the imagination, the reason, the understanding, the intelligence, and the summit of the mind or the spark of synderesis.[11] We have these powers implanted within us by nature, deformed through sin, reformed through grace.

mentis seu synderesis scintilla. Hos gradus in nobis habemus plantatos per naturam, deformatos per culpam, reformatos per gratiam; purgandos per iustitiam, exercendos per scientiam, perficiendos per sapientiam.

7. Secundum enim primam naturae institutionem creatus fuit homo habilis ad contemplationis quietem, et ideo *posuit eum Deus in paradiso deliciarum.*[12] Sed avertens se a vero lumine ad commutabile bonum, incurvatus est ipse per culpam propriam, et totum genus suum per originale peccatum, quod dupliciter infecit humanam naturam, scilicet *ignorantia* mentem et *concupiscentia* carnem; ita quod *excaecatus* homo et *incurvatus* in tenebris sedet et caeli lumen non videt nisi succurrat gratia cum iustitia contra *concupiscentiam*, et scientia cum sapientia contra *ignorantiam.* Quod totum fit per Iesum Christum, *qui factus est nobis a Deo sapientia et iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio.* Qui cum sit Dei *virtus* et Dei *sapientia*,[13] sit Verbum incarnatum *plenum gratiae et veritatis, gratiam* et *veritatem* fecit,[14] *gratiam* scilicet *caritatis* infudit, quae, cum sit *de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta*,[15] totam animam rectificat secundum triplicem ipsius aspectum supradictum; *scientiam veritatis* edocuit secundum triplicem modum theologiae, scilicet *symbolicae, propriae* et *mysticae*, ut per *symbolicam* recte utamur sensibilibus, per *propriam* recte utamur intelligibilibus, per *mysticam* rapiamur ad supermentales excessus.

8. Qui igitur vult in Deum ascendere necesse est, ut, vitata culpa deformante naturam, naturales potentias supradictas exerceat ad *gratiam reformantem*, et hoc per orationem; ad *iustitiam purificantem*, et hoc in conversatione; ad *scientiam illuminantem*, et hoc in meditatione; ad *sapientiam perficientem* et hoc in contemplatione. Sicut igitur ad *sapientiam* nemo venit nisi per gratiam, iustitiam et scientiam, sic ad *contemplationem* non venitur nisi per meditationem perspicuam, conversationem sanctam et orationem devotam. Sicut igitur gratia fundamentum est rectitudinis voluntatis et illustrationis perspicuae rationis; sic primo orandum est nobis, deinde sancte vivendum, tertio veritatis spectaculis intendendum et intendendo gradatim ascendendum, quousque veniatur ad *montem excelsum*, ubi *videatur Deus deorum in Sion.*[16]

12 *Gen.* 2, 15.
13 1 *Cor.* 1, 30; *ibid.* 24.
14 Ioan. 1, 14; *ibid.* 17.
15 1 *Tim.* 1, 5.
16 *Ps.* 83, 8.

They must be cleansed by justice, trained by knowledge, and perfected by wisdom.

7. According to the original disposition of nature, man was created fit for the quiet of contemplation and thus *God placed him in the paradise of pleasure.* But turning away from the true light to a changeable good, he and all his descendants were by his fault bent over[12] by original sin, which infected human nature in a twofold manner: the mind with ignorance, and the flesh with concupiscence. The result is that man, blinded and bent over, sits in darkness and does not see the light of heaven, unless grace comes to his aid with justice against concupiscence, and with knowledge and wisdom against ignorance. These effects are brought about through Jesus Christ, *who has become for us God-given wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption.* For since He is the power of God, the wisdom of God, and the incarnate Word, *full of grace and of truth,* He made grace and truth. He infuses into us the grace of charity which, since it springs up *from a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned,* rectifies the whole soul in the threefold power of seeing mentioned above. He has taught the knowledge of truth in its threefold theological sense,[13] so that through symbolic theology we may rightly use sensible things, through literal theology, we may rightly use intellectual things, and through mystical theology, we may be rapt to ecstatic experiences.

8. He, therefore, who wishes to ascend to God must first avoid sin, which deforms nature. He must bring the natural powers of the soul under the influence of grace, which reforms them, and this he does through prayer; under the influence of justice which purifies, and this, in daily acts; under the way of knowledge which enlightens, and this, in meditation; and finally, under the power of wisdom which perfects, and this in contemplation.[14] For just as no one arrives at wisdom except through grace, justice, and knowledge, so it is that no one arrives at contemplation except through penetrating meditation, holy living, and devout prayer. And since grace is the foundation of righteousness of the will, and of penetrating enlightenment of reason, we must first of all pray; next, we must live holily; then we must gaze at the spectacles of truth, and by gazing at them, rise step by step until we reach the mountain height *where the God of gods is seen on Sion.*

9. Quoniam igitur prius est ascendere quam descendere in scala Iacob, *primum* gradum ascensionis collocemus in imo, ponendo totum istum mundum sensibilem nobis tanquam speculum, per quod transeamus ad Deum, opificem summum, ut simus veri Hebraei transeuntes de Aegypto ad terram Patribus repromissam,[17] simus etiam Christiani cum Christo transeuntes *ex hoc mundo ad Patrem*,[18] simus et sapientiae amatores, quae vocat et dicit: *Transite ad me omnes, qui concupiscitis me, et a generationibus meis adimplemini. A magnitudine namque speciei et creaturae cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri.*[19]

10. Relucet autem Creatoris summa potentia et sapientia et benevolentia in rebus creatis secundum quod hoc tripliciter nuntiat sensus carnis sensui interiori. Sensus enim carnis aut deservit intellectui *rationabiliter investiganti*, aut *fideliter credenti*, aut *intellectualiter contemplanti*. *Contemplans* considerat rerum existentiam actualem, *credens* rerum decursum habitualem, *ratiocinans* rerum praecellentiam potentialem.

11. Primo modo aspectus *contemplantis*, res in se ipsis considerans, videt in eis *pondus*, *numerum* et *mensuram; pondus* quoad situm, ubi inclinantur, *numerum*, quo distinguuntur, et *mensuram*, quam limitantur. Ac per hoc videt in eis *modum*, *speciem* et *ordinem*, nec non *substantiam*, *virtutem* et *operationem*. Ex quibus consurgere potest sicut ex *vestigio* ad intelligendum potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem Creatoris immensam.

12. Secundo modo aspectus *fidelis*, considerans hunc mundum attendit *originem*, *decursum* et *terminum*. Nam *fide* credimus, *aptata esse saecula Verbo vitae*;[20] fide credimus, trium legum tempora, scilicet naturae, Scripturae et gratiae sibi succedere et ordinatissime decurrisse; fide credimus, mundum per finale iudicium terminandum esse; in primo potentiam, in secundo providentiam, in tertio iustitiam summi principii advertentes.

13. Tertio modo aspectus *ratiocinabiliter investigantis* videt, quaedam tantum *esse*, quaedam autem *esse* et *vivere*, quaedam vero *esse*, *vivere* et *discernere;* et prima quidem esse minora, secunda media, tertia meliora. — Videt iterum, quaedam esse tantum *corporalia*, quaedam *partim corporalia*, *partim spiritualia;* ex quo advertit, aliqua esse *mere spiritualia* tanquam utriusque meliora

17 *Gen.* 28, 12; *Exod.* 13, 3 *seq.*
18 Ioan. 13, 1. 19 *Sap.* 11, 21. 20 *Hebr.* 11, 3.

9. Now since it is necessary to ascend before we can descend on Jacob's ladder, let us place our first step in the ascent at the bottom, setting the whole visible world before us as a mirror through which we may pass over to God, the Supreme Creative Artist. Thus we shall be as true Hebrews passing over from Egypt to the land promised to the fathers; we shall be Christians passing over with Christ from this world to the Father; we shall be lovers of the Wisdom Who calls to us and says: *Pass over to me all ye that desire me, and be filled with my fruits. For by the greatness and the beauty of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen so as to be known thereby.*

10. The supreme power, wisdom, and benevolence of the Creator shine forth in created things in so far as the bodily senses inform the interior senses. This is done in a threefold way.[15] For the bodily senses serve the intellect when it investigates rationally, or believes faithfully, or contemplates intellectually. He who contemplates considers the actual existence of things; he who believes, the habitual course of things; he who investigates with his reason, the potential excellence of things.

11. In the first way of seeing, the observer considers things in themselves and sees in them weight, number, and measure:[16] weight in respect to the place towards which things incline; number, by which things are distinguished; and measure, by which things are determined. Hence he sees in them mode, species,[17] and order, as well as substance, power, and activity. From all these considerations the observer can rise, as from a vestige, to the knowledge of the immense power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator.

12. In the second way of seeing, the way of faith, the believer considers this world in its origin, development, and end.[18] For *by faith we understand that the world was fashioned by the word of God;* by faith we believe that the periods of the three laws of nature, of the Scriptures, and of grace followed one another and have flowed on in a most orderly way; by faith we believe that the world must come to an end in the final judgment. In the first of these beliefs we consider the power of the highest Principle; in the second, His Providence; and in the third, His Justice.

13. In the third way of seeing, he who investigates with his reason sees that some things merely exist, that others exist and live, that still others exist, live, and discern. He also sees that the first of these are the lesser ones, the second are intermediate, and the third are the better. Likewise, he sees that some things are merely corporeal, while others are partly corporeal and partly spiritual. From this observation he realizes that others are wholly spiritual, better and of more dignity than the first two modes of

et digniora. — Videt nihilominus, quaedam esse *mutabilia* et *corruptibilia*, ut terrestria, quaedam *mutabilia et incorruptibilia*, ut caelestia; ex quo advertit, quaedam esse *immutabilia et incorruptibilia*, ut supercaelestia.

Ex his ergo visibilibus consurgit ad considerandum Dei potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem ut entem, viventem et intelligentem, mere spiritualem et incorruptibilem et intransmutabilem.

14. Haec autem consideratio dilatatur secundum septiformem conditionem creaturarum, quae est divinae potentiae, sapientiae et bonitatis testimonium septiforme, si consideretur cunctarum rerum *origo*, *magnitudo*, *multitudo*, *pulchritudo*, *plenitudo*, *operatio* et *ordo*. — *Origo* namque rerum secundum creationem, distinctionem et ornatum quantum ad opera sex dierum divinam praedicat potentiam cuncta de nihilo producentem, sapientiam cuncta lucide distinguentem et bonitatem cuncta largiter adornantem. — *Magnitudo* autem rerum secundum molem longitudinis, latitudinis et profunditatis; secundum excellentiam virtutis longe, late et profunde se extendentis, sicut patet in diffusione lucis; secundum efficaciam operationis intimae, continuae et diffusae, sicut patet in operatione ignis, manifeste indicat immensitatem potentiae, sapientiae et bonitatis trini Dei, qui in cunctis rebus per *potentiam*, *praesentiam* et *essentiam* incircumscriptus existit. — *Multitudo* vero rerum secundum diversitatem generalem, specialem et individualem in substantia, in forma seu figura et efficacia ultra omnem humanam aestimationem, manifeste trium praedictarum conditionum in Deo immensitatem insinuat et ostendit. — *Pulchritudo* autem rerum secundum varietatem luminum, figurarum et colorum in corporibus simplicibus, mixtis et etiam complexionatis, sicut in corporibus caelestibus et mineralibus, sicut lapidibus et metallis, plantis et animalibus, tria praedicta evidenter proclamat. — *Plenitudo* autem rerum, secundum quod *materia* est plena formis secundum rationes seminales; *forma* est plena virtute secundum activam potentiam; *virtus* est plena effectibus secundum efficientiam, id ipsum manifeste declarat. — *Operatio* multiplex, secundum quod est *naturalis*, secundum quod est *artificialis*, secundum quod est *moralis*, sua multiplicissima varietate ostendit immensitatem illius *virtutis*, *artis* et *bonitatis*, quae quidem est omnibus "causa essendi, ratio intelligendi et ordo vivendi."[21] — Ordo autem secundum rationem *durationis*, *situationis* et *influentiae*, scilicet per prius et posterius,

21 August., VIII *de Civ. Dei*, 4.

being. Moreover, he sees that some of these things are changeable and corruptible, such as terrestial things; others are changeable and incorruptible, as celestial things. And from this observation he realizes that some things are changeless and incorruptible, that is, supercelestial things.

Therefore, from visible things the soul rises to the consideration of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, in so far as He is existing, living, intelligent, purely spiritual, incorruptible, and immutable.

14. We may extend this consideration to the sevenfold general properties of creatures,[19] which bear a sevenfold witness to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, if we consider the origin, greatness, multitude, beauty, plenitude, activity, and order of all things. The origin of things, according to their creation, distinction,[20] and adornment[21] as the work of the six days, proclaims the power of God that produced all things out of nothing, the wisdom of God that clearly differentiated all things, the goodness of God that lavishly adorned all things. The greatness of things also — looking at their vast extension, latitude, and profundity, at the immense power extending itself in the diffusion of light, and the efficiency of their inner uninterrupted and diffusive operation, as manifest in the action of fire — clearly portrays the immensity of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Triune God, Who, uncircumscribed, exists in all things by His power, presence, and, essence.[22] Likewise, the multitude of things in their generic, specific, and individual diversity of substance, form, or figure, and the efficiency which is beyond all human estimation, manifestly suggests and shows the immensity of the three above-mentioned attributes in God. The beauty of things, too, if we but consider the diversity of lights, forms, and colors in elementary, inorganic, and organic bodies, as in heavenly bodies and in minerals, in stones and metals, and in plants and animals, clearly proclaims these three attributes of God. In so far as matter is full of forms because of the seminal principles,[23] and form is full of power because of its active potentialities, while power is capable of many effects because of its efficiency, the plenitude of things clearly proclaims the same three attributes. In like manner, manifold activity, whether natural, cultural, or moral, by its infinitely multiple variety, shows forth the immensity of that power, art,[24] and goodness, which is for all things "the cause of being, the basis of understanding, and the norm of orderly conduct." Finally, when we consider order in reference to duration, position, and influence, that is, from the standpoint of prior and posterior, superior and inferior, more noble and more ignoble, it clearly

superius et inferius, nobilius et ignobilius, in libro creaturae insinuat manifeste primi principii *primitatem, sublimitatem* et *dignitatem* quantum ad infinitatem *potentiae:* ordo vero divinarum *legum, praeceptorum* et *iudiciorum* in libro Scripturae immensitatem *sapientiae;* ordo autem divinorum *Sacramentorum, beneficiorum* et *retributionum* in corpore Ecclesiae immensitatem *bonitatis,* ita quod ipse ordo nos in primum et summum, potentissimum, sapientissimum et optimum evidentissime manuducit.

15. Qui igitur tantis rerum creaturarum splendoribus non illustratur caecus est; qui tantis clamoribus non evigilat surdus est; qui ex omnibus his effectibus Deum non laudat mutus est; qui ex tantis indiciis primum principium non advertit stultus est. — Aperi igitur oculos, aures spirituales admove, labia tua solve et cor tuum appone,[22] ut in omnibus creaturis Deum tuum videas, audias, laudes, diligas et colas, magnifices et honores, ne forte totus contra te orbis terrarum consurgat. Nam ob hoc *pugnabit orbis terrarum contra insensatos,*[23] et econtra sensatis erit materia gloriae, qui secundum Prophetam possunt dicere: *Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exsultabo. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! omnia in sapientia fecisti, impleta est terra possessione tua.*[24]

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22 *Prov.* 22, 17.
23 *Sap.* 5, 21.
24 *Ps.* 91, 5; *Ps.* 103, 24.

points out, first of all, in the book of creation, the primacy, sublimity, and dignity of the First Principle, and thus the infinity of His power; secondly, in the book of Scriptures, the order of divine laws, commands, and judgments, and thus the immensity of His wisdom; and lastly, in the body of the Church, the order of the divine Sacraments, benefices, and rewards, and thus the immensity of His goodness. So it is that order leads us to that which is first and highest, most powerful, most wise, and best.

15. Therefore, whoever is not enlightened by such great splendor in created things is blind; whoever remains unheedful of such great outcries is deaf; whoever does not praise God in all these effects is dumb; whoever does not turn to the First Principle after so many signs is a fool. Open your eyes, therefore; alert the ears of your spirit, unlock your lips, and apply your heart that you may see, hear, praise, love, and adore, magnify, and honor your God in every creature, lest perchance, the entire universe rise against you. For because of this, *the whole world shall fight against the unwise.* But on the contrary, it will be a matter of glory for the wise, who can say with the prophet: *For thou hast given me, O Lord, a delight in thy doings, and in the work of thy hands I shall rejoice. How great are thy works, O Lord! Thou hast made all things in wisdom, the earth is filled with thy riches.*

CAP. II

De speculatione Dei in vestigiis suis in hoc sensibili mundo.

1. Sed quoniam circa speculum sensibilium non solum contingit contemplari Deum *per ipsa* tanquam per vestigia, verum etiam *in ipsis*, in quantum est in eis per *essentiam, potentiam* et *praesentiam;* et hoc considerare est altius quam praecedens: ideo huiusmodi consideratio secundum tenet locum tanquam secundus contemplationis gradus, quo debemus manuduci ad contemplandum Deum in cunctis creaturis, quae ad mentem nostram intrant per corporales sensus.

2. Notandum igitur, quod iste mundus, qui dicitur *macroscosmus*, intrat ad animam nostram, quae dicitur *minor mundus*, per portas quinque sensuum, secundum ipsorum sensibilium *apprehensionem, oblectationem* et *diiudicationem*. — Quod patet sic: quia in eo quaedam sunt *generantia*, quaedam *generata*, quaedam *gubernantia* haec et illa. *Generantia* sunt corpora simplicia, scilicet corpora caelestia et quatuor elementa. Nam ex elementis per virtutem lucis conciliantis contrarietatem elementorum in mixtis habent generari et produci quaecumque generantur et producuntur per operationem virtutis naturalis. — *Generata* vero sunt corpora ex elementis composita, sicut mineralia, vegetabilia, sensibilia et corpora humana. — *Regentia* haec et illa sunt substantiae spirituales sive *omnino coniunctae*, ut sunt animae brutales, sive *coniunctae separabiliter*, ut sunt spiritus rationales, sive *omnino separatae*, ut sunt spiritus caelestes, quos philosophi *Intelligentias*, nos *Angelos* appellamus. Quibus secundum philosophos competit movere corpora caelestia, ac per hoc eis attribuitur *administratio universi*, suscipiendo a prima causa, scilicet Deo, virtutis influentiam, quam refundunt secundum opus gubernationis, quod respicit rerum consistentiam naturalem. Secundum autem theologos attribuitur eisdem regimen universi secundum imperium summi Dei quantum ad *opera reparationis*, secundum quae dicuntur *administratorii spiritus, missi propter eos qui hereditatem capiunt salutis.*[1]

1 *Hebr.* 1, 14.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONSIDERATION OF GOD IN HIS FOOTSTEPS IN THIS VISIBLE WORLD

1. We may behold God in the mirror of visible creation, not only by considering creatures as vestiges of God, but also by seeing Him in them; for He is present in them by His essence, His power, and His presence. And because this is a higher way of considering than the preceding one, it follows as the second level of contemplation, on which we ought to be led to the contemplation of God in every creature that enters our mind through the bodily senses.

2. It should be noted that this world, which is called the *macrocosm*, enters our soul, the *microcosm*, through the portals of the five senses in so far as sense objects are apprehended, enjoyed, and judged. This may be illustrated in the following way. In the visible world there are some things that generate, others that are generated, and still others that govern them both. Those things that generate are simple bodies, such as the heavenly bodies and the four elements. For everything that is generated or produced by a natural agency must be generated and produced from these elements through the power of light[1] that harmonizes the contrariety of the elements in composite things. Those things that are generated are bodies composed of the elements, as are minerals, plants, animals, and human bodies. Those that govern both what generate and what are generated are spiritual substances, which may either be completely bound up with matter, as the souls of brutes, or separably linked with it, as rational spirits; or they may be altogether free from matter, as the celestial spirits, which the philosophers call Intelligences, and we, angels.[2] According to the philosophers, it is the function of these latter to move the heavenly bodies. Consequently, the administration of the universe is attributed to them, inasmuch as they receive from the first cause, God, an influx of power which they, in turn, dispense in the work of administration that has to do with the natural stability of things. According to the theologians, however, the ruling of the universe is attributed to the angels according to the command of the most high God with reference to the works of reparation. Accordingly they are called *ministering spirits, sent for service, for the sake of those who shall inherit salvation.*

3. Homo igitur, qui dicitur *minor mundus*, habet quinque sensus quasi quinque portas, per quas intrat cognitio omnium, quae sunt in mundo sensibili, in animam ipsius. Nam per *visum* intrant corpora sublimia et luminosa et cetera colorata, per *tactum* vero corpora solida et terrestria, per tres vero *sensus intermedios* intrant intermedia, ut per *gustum* aquea, per *auditum* aërea, per *odoratum vaporabilia*, quae aliquid habent de natura humida, aliquid de aërea, aliquid de ignea seu calida, sicut patet in fumo ex aromatibus resoluto.

Intrant igitur per has portas tam corpora simplicia quam etiam composita, ex his mixta. Quia vero sensu percipimus non solum haec *sensibilia particularia*, quae sunt lux, sonus, odor, sapor et quatuor *primariae qualitates*, quas apprehendit tactus; verum etiam *sensibilia communia*, quae sunt numerus, magnitudo, figura, quies et motus; et "omne, quod movetur, ab alio movetur," et quaedam a se ipsis moventur et quiescunt, ut sunt animalia;[2] dum per hos quinque sensus *motus* corporum apprehendimus, manuducimur ad cognitionem motorum spiritualium tanquam per effectum in cognitionem causarum.

4. Intrat igitur quantum ad tria rerum genera in animam humanam per *apprehensionem* totus iste sensibilis mundus. Haec autem sensibilia exteriora sunt quae primo ingrediuntur in animam per portas quinque sensuum; intrant, inquam, non per substantias, sed per similitudines suas primo generatas in medio et de medio in organo et de organo exteriori in interiori et de hoc in potentiam apprehensivam; et sic generatio speciei in medio et de medio in organo et conversio potentiae apprehensivae super illam facit *apprehensionem* omnium eorum quae exterius anima apprehendit.

5. Ad hanc apprehensionem, si sit rei convenientis, sequitur *oblectatio*. Delectatur autem sensus in obiectum per similitudinem abstractam percepto vel ratione *speciositatis*, sicut in visu, vel ratione *suavitatis*, sicut in odoratu et auditu, vel ratione *salubritatis*, sicut in gustu et tactu, appropriate loquendo. Omnis autem delectatio est ratione proportionalitatis. Sed quoniam species tenet rationem *formae*, *virtutis* et *operationis*, secundum quod habet respectum ad principium, a quo manat, ad medium, per quod transit, et ad terminum, in quem agit; ideo proportionalitas aut attenditur in similitudine, secundum quod tenet rationem *speciei seu formae*, et sic dicitur *speciositas*, quia "pulcritudo nihil

2 Aristot., VII *Phys.*, text. 1.

3. Man, therefore, who is called a smaller world, has five senses, which serve as five portals through which the knowledge of all things existing in the visible world enters his soul. For through sight enter sublime and luminous bodies, and all other colored things; through touch, solid and terrestrial bodies; through the three intermediate senses, intermediate things;[3] the aqueous through taste, the aerial through hearing, the vaporous through smell. These last have in them something of the humid, something of the aerial, and something of the fiery or the hot, as is evidenced in the aroma from spices.

Through these portals, then, both simple bodies and composite bodies made up of simple ones enter the soul. We perceive by the senses not only particular sense objects, such as light, sound, smell, taste, and the four primary qualities[4] which the sense of touch apprehends, but also common sense objects,[5] such as number, size, form, rest, and motion. And since everything that is moved is moved by another, and since, also, certain things move and come to rest of themselves — animals, for instance — we are led, when we perceive bodily motion through the five senses, to the knowledge of spiritual motions, as through the effect to the knowledge of causes.

4. The whole of this visible world, then, in its three classes of things, enters the human soul through apprehension.[6] These visible and external things are what first enter the soul through the doors of the five senses. Yet these enter, not through their substances, but through similitudes generated in the medium, and from the medium they pass into the organ. From the external organ they pass into the internal organ and thence into the apprehensive faculty. Thus the generation of the species in the medium, and from the medium in the organ, and the directing of the apprehensive faculty upon it leads to the apprehension of all those things which the soul apprehends outside itself.

5. From this apprehension, if it is of a suitable object, pleasure follows.[7] The senses are delighted in an object, perceived through the abstracted similitude, either by reason of its beauty as in sight, or of its sweetness as in smell or hearing, or of its wholesomeness as in taste and touch, by way of appropriation. For all pleasure is founded in a proportionality. But the species holds the notion of form, power, and activity, according as it has reference to the principle from which it emanates, to the medium through which it passes, or to the object on which it acts. Consequently, proportion is observed in the similitude in so far as it has the character of the species or form, and then it is called beauty, because *beauty is nothing other than numbered equality, or a certain disposition of parts, together with a suavity of color.* Again, pro-

aliud est quam aequalitas numerosa," seu "quidam partium situs cum coloris suavitate."[3] Aut attenditur proportionalitas, in quantum tenet rationem *potentiae seu virtutis*, et sic dicitur *suavitas*, cum virtus agens non improportionaliter excedit recipientem, quia sensus tristatur in extremis et in mediis delectatur. Aut attenditur, in quantum tenet rationem *efficaciae et impressionis*, quaetunc est proportionalis, quando agens imprimendo replet indigentiam patientis, et hoc est *salvare et nutrire ipsum*, quod maxime apparet in gustu et tactu. Et sic per *oblectationem* delectabilia exteriora secundum triplicem rationem delectandi per similitudinem intrant in animam.

6. Post hanc apprehensionem et oblectationem fit *diiudicatio*, qua non solum diiudicatur, utrum hoc sit album vel nigrum, quia hoc pertinet ad sensum *particularem;* non solum, utrum sit salubre vel nocivum, quia hoc pertinet ad sensum *interiorem;* verum etiam, qua diiudicatur et ratio redditur, *quare* hoc delectat; et in hoc actu inquiritur de *ratione* delectationis, quae in sensu percipitur ab obiecto. Hoc est autem, cum quaeritur *ratio* pulcri, suavis et salubris: et invenitur, quod haec est *proportio aequalitatis*. Ratio autem aequalitatis est eadem in magnis et parvis nec extenditur dimensionibus nec succedit seu transit cum transeuntibus nec motibus alteratur. Abstrahit igitur a loco, tempore et motu, ac per hoc est incommutabilis, incircumscriptibilis, interminabilis et omnino spiritualis. *Diiudicatio* igitur est actio, quae speciem sensibilem, sensibiliter per sensus acceptam, introire facit depurando et abstrahendo in potentiam intellectivam. Et sic totus iste mundus introire habet in animam humanam per portas sensuum secundum tres operationes praedictas.

7. Haec autem omnia sunt vestigia, in quibus speculari possumus Deum nostrum. — Nam cum species *apprehensa* sit similitudo in medio genita et deinde ipsi organo impressa et per illam impressionem in suum principium, scilicet in obiectum cognoscendum, ducat; manifeste insinuat, quod illa lux aeterna generat ex se similitudinem seu splendorem coaequalem, consubstantialem et coaeternalem; et quod ille qui est *imago invisibilis Dei* et *splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius*,[4] qui ubique est per primam sui generationem, sicut obiectum in toto medio suam generat similitudinem, per gratiam unionis unitur, sicut species corporali organo, individuo rationalis naturae, ut per illam unionem

3 August., VI *de Musica*, 13, 38; XXII *de Civ. Dei*, 19, 2.
4 *Col.* 1, 15; *Hebr.* 1, 3.

portionality is observed in so far as it has the character of power or strength, and then it is called sweetness, when the acting power does not disproportionally exceed the recipient sense. For the senses are pained by extremes and delighted by moderation. Finally, proportionality is observed in so far as it has the character of an efficacious impression which is proportionate when the agent, by its impression, fulfills a need of the recipient. This the agent does by preserving and nourishing it, and this is most apparent in taste and touch. Thus through pleasure, external delights enter the soul by means of their similitudes, according to any of the three kinds of pleasure.

6. After this apprehension and delight, there follows judgment[8] by which one not only decides whether this thing is black or white, for this pertains to a particular sense, or whether it is wholesome or harmful, for this pertains to an internal sense, but rather it judges and gives an account why this object delights. In this act of judging, one inquires into the reason for the pleasure which the senses derive from the object. Now when we inquire into the reason why an object is beautiful, sweet, and wholesome, we find that it consists in a certain proportion of equality. But the nature of equality is the same in both large and small objects; it is not extended by dimensions nor does it change or pass away with transitory things nor is it changed by movement. It abstracts, therefore, from place and time and motion, and for this reason it cannot change, nor can it have any limits in space and time but is absolutely spiritual. Judgment, therefore, is an action which, by purifying and abstracting the sensory likeness received sentiently by the senses, causes it to enter into the intellective faculty. And this whole external world must enter the human soul through the doors of the senses, according to the three aforementioned activities.

7. Yet these activities are vestiges in which we can see our God. For the perceived species is a similitude generated in the medium and then impressed on the organ itself, and through this impression it leads us to its starting point, that is, to the object to be known. Hence this process manifestly suggests that the Eternal Light begets of Himself a Likeness or a co-equal, constubstantial, and co-eternal Splendor; that He Who is the *image of the invisible God* and *the brightness of his glory and the image of his substance,* Who is everywhere by His first generation like an object that generates its similitude in the entire medium, is united by the grace of union to the individual of rational nature as the species is united with the bodily organ, so that through this union He may lead us back to the Father, as to the Fountain-head and Object. If, therefore, all knowable things must

nos reduceret ad Patrem sicut ad fontale principium et obiectum. Siergo omnia cognoscibilia habent sui speciem generare, manifeste proclamant, quod in illis tanquam in speculis videri potest aeterna generatio Verbi, Imaginis et Filii a Deo Patre aeternaliter emanantis.

8. Secundum hunc modum species *delectans* ut *speciosa, suavis* et *salubris* insinuat, quod in illa prima specie est prima *speciositas, suavitas* et *salubritas*, in qua est summa *proportionalitas* et aequalitas ad generantem; in qua est *virtus*, non per phantasma, sed per veritatem apprehensionis illabens; in qua est *impressio* salvans et sufficiens et omnem apprehendentis indigentiam expellens. Si ergo "delectatio est coniunctio convenientis cum convenienti";[5] et solius Dei similitudo tenet rationem summe speciosi, suavis et salubris; et unitur secundum *veritatem* et secundum *intimitatem* et secundum *plenitudinem* replentem omnem capacitatem: manifeste videri potest, quod in solo Deo est fontalis et vera *delectatio*, et quod ad ipsam ex omnibus delectationibus manuducimur requirendam.

9. Excellentiori autem modo et immediatiori *diiudicatio* ducit nos in aeternam veritatem certius speculandam. Si enim diiuducatio habet fieri per rationem *abstrahentem* a loco, tempore et mutabilitate ac per hoc a dimensione, successione et transmutatione, per rationem *immutabilem* et *incircumscriptibilem* et *interminabilem;* nihil autem est omnino *immutabile, incircumscriptibile* et *interminabile*, nisi quod est aeternum: omne autem quod est aeternum, est Deus, vel in Deo; si ergo omnia, quaecumque certius diiudicamus, per huiusmodi rationem diiudicamus, patet, quod ipse est *ratio omnium rerum* et *regula infallibilis* et *lux veritatis*, in qua cuncta relucent infallibiliter, indelebiliter, indubitanter, irrefragabiliter, indiiudicabiliter, incommutabiliter, incoarctabiliter, interminabiliter, indivisibiliter et intellectualiter. Et ideo leges illae, per quas iudicamus certitudinaliter de omnibus sensibilibus, in nostram considerationem venientibus, cum sint infallibiles et indubitabiles *intellectui apprehendentis*, sint indelebiles a *memoria recolentis* tanquam semper praesentes, sint irrefragabiles et indiiudicabiles *intellectui iudicantis*, quia, ut dicit Augustinus,[6] "nullus de eis iudicat, sed per illas:" necesse est, eas esse incommutabiles et incorruptibiles tanquam necessarias, incoarctabiles tanquam incircumscriptas, interminabiles tanquam aeternas, ac per hoc indivisibiles tanquam intellectuales et incorporeas, non factas, sed increatas, aeternaliter existentes in arte aeterna, a qua, per quam et secundum quam formantur formosa

5 August., *de Vera Relig.*, 18, 35 *seq.*
6 August., Libr. II *de Lib. Arb.*, 14, 38.

generate a likeness of themselves, they manifestly proclaim that in them, as in mirrors, can be seen the eternal generation of the Word, the Image, and the Son, eternally emanating from God the Father.

8. Similarly the species which delights as beautiful, as sweet, as wholesome, leads one to realize that there exists a first beauty, sweetness, and wholesomeness in that first Species, in which there is the utmost proportionality to and equality with the One generating, and there is power, intimated, not by means of phantasms, but by the truth of apprehension, and also an impression that preserves, satisfies, and completely dispels the needs of the beholder. Therefore, if *delight is the union of the suitable with the suitable*,[9] and if the Likeness of God alone has the character of that which is most beautiful, most sweet, and most wholesome, and if it is united in truth, intimacy, and a plenitude that fills every capacity, it can be seen clearly that in God alone is the fountain of true delight and that from all other delights we are led on to the seeking of Him.

9. Judgment, however, leads us in a still more excellent and more immediate way to a surer beholding of eternal truth.[10] For judgment has to be made by reason that abstracts from place, time, and change, and hence it abstracts from dimension, succession, and transmutation by a reason which cannot change nor have any limits in time or space. But nothing is absolutely immutable and unlimited in time and space unless it is eternal, and everything that is eternal is either God or in God. If, therefore, everything which we judge in a more certain manner, we judge by such a reason, then the following is clear: He is for all things the reason and the infallible rule and the light of truth. All things shine forth in this light in a manner which is infallible and indelible, in a manner which does not admit of doubt or possibility of refutation or judgment on our part, or change or limit in space and time, and in a manner indivisible and intellectual. Therefore, those laws by which we judge with certainty about all sense objects that come to our knowledge, since they are infallible and indubitable to the intellect of him who apprehends, since they cannot be eradicated from the memory of him who recalls, for they are always present, since they do not admit of refutation or judgment by the intellect of him who judges, because, as St. Augustine say, *No one judges of them but by them*, these laws must be changeless and incorruptible, since they are necessary. They must be without limits in space because they are not circumscribed by any place. They must be without limits in time since they are eternal and, for this reason, they cannot be divided into parts since they are intellectual and incorporeal, not made but uncreated, existing

omnia: et ideo nec certitudinaliter iudicari possunt nisi per illam quae non tantum fuit forma cuncta *producens*, verum etiam cuncta *conservans* et *distinguens*, tanquam ens in omnibus formam tenens et regula dirigens, et per quam diiudicat mens nostra cuncta, quae per sensus intrant in ipsam.

10. Haec autem speculatio *dilatatur* secundum considerationem septem differentiarum *numerorum*, quibus quasi septem gradibus conscenditur in Deum, secundum quod ostendit Augustinus in libro de Vera Religione et in sexto Musicae, ubi assignat differentias numerorum gradatim conscendentium ab his sensibilibus usque ad Opificem omnium, ut in omnibus videatur Deus.

Dicit enim, numeros esse in corporibus et maxime in sonis et vocibus, et hos vocat *sonantes;* numeros ab his abstractos et in sensibus nostris receptos, et hos vocat *occursores;* numeros ab anima procedentes in corpus, sicut patet in gesticulationibus et saltationibus, et hos vocat *progressores;* numeros in delectationibus sensuum ex conversione intentionis super speciem receptam, et hos vocat *sensuales*, numeros in memoria retentos, et hos vocat *memoriales;* numeros etiam, per quos de his omnibus iudicamus, et hos vocat *iudiciales*, qui, ut dictum est, necessario sunt supra mentem tanquam infallibiles et indiiudicabiles. Ab his autem imprimuntur mentibus nostris numeri *artificiales*, quos tamen inter illos gradus non enumerat Augustinus, quia connexi sunt *iudicialibus;* et ab his manant numeri *progressores*, ex quibus creantur numerosae formae *artificiatorum*, ut a summis per media ordinatus fiat descensus ad infima. Ad hos etiam gradatim ascendimus a numeris *sonantibus*, mediantibus *occusoribus*, *sensualibus* et *memorialibus*.

Cum igitur omnia sint *pulcra* et quodam modo *delectabilia;* et *pulcritudo* et *delectatio* non sint absque *proportione;* et *proportio* primo sit in numeris: necesse est, omnia esse numerosa; ac per hoc "numerus est praecipuum in animo Conditoris exemplar"[7] et in rebus praecipuum vestigium ducens in Sapientiam. Quod cum sit omnibus evidentissimum et Deo propinquissimum,

7 Boeth., 1 *de Arithmetica*, 1 *seq.*

eternally in the Eternal Art, by which, through which, and according to which all beautiful things are formed. Therefore they cannot be judged with certainty except by that Eternal Art which is the form that not only produces all things, but also conserves and differentiates them, for this is the Being that contains the form in all creatures, and is the rule that directs all things. Through it our mind judges all things that enter it through the senses.

10. This speculation is extended by considering the seven differences of numbers[11] by which, as by seven steps, we ascend to God, as St. Augustine makes clear in his books, *De Vera Religione* and *De Musica*, Book Six. In these passages he points out the differences of numbers, which ascend step by step from these visible creatures to the artificer of all, so that God may be seen in all of them.

He declares that there are numbers in bodies and especially in sounds and voices, and these he calls "sounding numbers." Secondly, there are numbers which are drawn from these and which are received into the sense faculty, and these he calls "occurring numbers." Thirdly, there are numbers that proceed from the soul into the body, as is clear in gesturing and in dancing, and these he calls "forthcoming numbers." Fourthly, there are numbers in the pleasures of the senses, which result when the attention turns towards the likenesses they have perceived, and these he calls "sensuous numbers." Fifthly, there are numbers retained in the memory, and these he calls "memorial numbers." Sixthly, there are numbers by which we judge all the foregoing numbers, and these he calls "judicial," which, as has been said, are necessarily above the mind, since they are infallible and beyond any judgment on our part. These last are the ones that impress on our minds the "artistic numbers," which, however, St. Augustine does not enumerate in the classification because they are bound up with the "judicial numbers." And from these "judicial numbers" also flow the "forthcoming numbers" from which are created the numerous forms of artifacts. Thus from the highest numbers, through the intermediate, to the lowest, there is a gradated descent. And to the highest numbers in turn, we ascend step by step from the "sounding numbers," by means of the "occurring," the "sensuous," and the "memorial numbers."

Therefore, since all things are beautiful and in some way delightful, and since beauty and delight do not exist without proportion, and since proportion exists primarily in numbers, all things are subject to number. Hence *number is the principal exemplar in the mind of the Creator*, and in things, the principal vestige leading to Wisdom. And since number is most evident to all and very close to God, it leads us, by its sevenfold distinction,

propinquissime quasi per septem differentias ducit in Deum et facit, eum cognosci in cunctis corporalibus et sensibilibus, dum numerosa *apprehendimus*, in numerosis proportionibus *delectamur* et per numerosarum proportionum leges irrefragabiliter *iudicamus*.

11. Ex his duobus gradibus primis, quibus manuducimur ad speculandum Deum in vestigiis quasi ad modum duarum alarum descendentium circa pedes,[8] colligere possumus, quod omnes creaturae istius sensibilis mundi animum contemplantis et sapientis ducunt in Deum aeternum, pro eo quod illius primi principii potentissimi, sapientissimi et optimi, illius aeternae originis, lucis et plenitudinis, illius, inquam, artis efficientis, exemplantis et ordinantis sunt *umbrae*, *resonantiae* et *picturae*, sunt *vestigia*, *simulacra* et *spectacula* nobis ad contuendum Deum proposita et *signa* divinitus data; quae, inquam, sunt *exemplaria* vel potius *exemplata*, proposita mentibus adhuc rudibus et sensibilibus, ut per sensibilia, quae vident, transferantur ad intelligibilia, quae non vident, tanquam per signa ad signata.

12. Significant autem huiusmodi creaturae huius mundi sensibilis *invisibilia Dei*,[9] partim quia Deus est omnis creaturae *origo*, *exemplar* et *finis*, et omnis effectus est signum causae, et exemplatum exemplaris, et via finis, ad quem ducit; partim ex *propria repraesentatione*, partim ex *prophetica praefiguratione*, partim ex *angelica operatione*, partim ex superaddita *institutione*. Omnis enim creatura ex *natura* est illius aeternae sapientiae quaedam effigies et similitudo, sed *specialiter* illa quae in libro Scripturae per *spiritum prophetiae* assumta est ad spiritualium praefigurationem: *specialius* autem illae creaturae, in quarum effigie Deus *angelico ministerio* voluit apparere; *specialissime* vero ea quam voluit ad significandum *instituere*, quae tenet non solum rationem *signi* secundum nomen commune, verum etiam *Sacramenti*.

13. Ex quibus omnibus colligitur, quod *invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; ita ut* qui nolunt ista advertere et Deum in his omnibus cognoscere, benedicere et amare, *inexcusabiles sint*[10] dum nolunt transferri *de tenebris in admirabile lumen Dei*, *Deo autem gratias per Iesum Christum*, *Dominum nostrum*, qui nos *de tenebris transtulit in admirabile lumen suum*,[11] dum per haec lumina exterius data ad speculum mentis nostrae, in quo relucent divina, disponimur ad reintrandum.

8 Isai. 6, 2. 9 *Rom.* 1, 20. 10 *Ibid.*
11 1 *Cor.* 15, 57; 1 *Petr.* 2, 9.

very close to Him; it makes Him known in all bodily and visible things when we apprehend numerical things, when we delight in numerical proportions, and when we judge irrefutably by the laws of numerical proportions.

11. From these first two steps by which we are led to behold God in vestiges, like the two wings drooping about the feet of the Seraph, we can gather that all creatures in this visible world lead the spirit of the contemplative and wise man to the eternal God. For creatures are shadows, echoes, and pictures of that first, most powerful, most wise, and most perfect Principle, of that eternal Source, Light, Fullness, of that efficient, exemplary and ordering Art. They are the vestiges, images, and displays presented to us for the contuition of God, and the divinely given signs wherein we can see God. These creatures are exemplars, or rather illustrations offered to souls as yet untrained and immersed in the senses, so that through these sensible things that they see they may be transported to the intelligible which they do not see, as through signs to that which is signified.

12. For creatures of this visible world signify the invisible things of God:[12] partly, because God is the origin, exemplar, and end of every creature and the effect is the sign of the cause; the thing exemplified, of the exemplar; and the way, of the end to which it leads. This they do also partly by their own proper representation; partly because of their prophetic prefiguration; partly by reason of angelic operation; partly also by reason of superadded institution. For every creature is by its very nature some kind of image and likeness of the eternal Wisdom, but especially one who, according to the Book of Scriptures, has been raised by the Spirit of Prophecy to prefigure spiritual things; and more especially those creatures in whose likeness it pleased God to appear through the ministry of the angels; and, finally, most especially, that one which He willed to institute for signifying, and which not only has the character of sign in the ordinary sense of the term, but also the character of sacrament as well.

13. From all this, one can gather that *since the creation of the world his invisible attributes are clearly seen, being understood through the things that are made. And so they are without excuse* who are unwilling to take notice of these things, or to know, bless, and love God in them, since they are unwilling to be transported *out of darkness into* the *marvelous light* of God. *But thanks be to God through our Lord, Jesus Christ,* who has transported us *out of darkness into his marvelous light,* since by the light externally given, we are disposed to re-enter the mirror of our mind, wherein shine forth divine things.

CAP. III

De speculatione Dei per suam imaginem naturalibus potentiis insignitam.

1. Quoniam autem duo gradus praedicti, ducendo nos in Deum per *vestigia* sua, per quae in cunctis creaturis relucet, manduxerunt nos usque ad hoc, ut ad nos reintraremus, in mentem scilicet nostram, in qua divina relucet *imago;* hinc est, quod iam tertio loco, ad nosmetipsos intrantes et quasi atrium forinsecus relinquentes, in *sanctis*,[1] scilicet *anteriori* parte tabernaculi, conari debemus per speculum videre Deum: ubi ad modum candelabri
10 relucet lux veritatis in facie nostrae mentis,[2] in qua scilicet resplendet imago beatissimae Trinitatis.

Intra igitur ad te et vide, quoniam mens tua *amat* ferventissime semetipsam; nec se posset amare, nisi se *nosset;* nec se nosset, nisi sui *meminisset,* quia nihil capimus per intelligentiam, quod non sit praesens apud nostram memoriam; et ex hoc advertis, animam tuam triplicem habere potentiam, non oculo carnis, sed oculo rationis. Considera igitur harum trium potentiarum *operationes* et *habitudines,* et videre poteris Deum per te tanquam per imaginem, quod est videre *per speculum in aenigmate.*

2. *Operatio* autem *memoriae* est retentio et repraesentatio non solum *praesentium, corporalium* et *temporalium,* verum etiam *succedentium, simplicium* et *sempiternalium.* — Retinet namque memoria *praeterita* per recordationem, *praesentia* per susceptionem, *futura* per praevisionem. — Retinet etiam *simplicia,* sicut principia quantitatum continuarum et discretarum, ut punctum, instans et unitatem, sine quibus impossibile est meminisse aut cogitare ea quae principiantur per haec. — Retinet nihilominus *scientiarum principia et dignitates* ut *sempiternalia* et sempiternaliter, quia nunquam potest sic oblivisci eorum, dum ratione utatur, quin ea audita approbet et eis assentiat, non tanquam de novo percipiat, sed tanquam sibi innata et familiaria recognoscat, sicut patet, si proponatur alicui: "De quolibet affirmatio, vel negatio"; vel: "Omne totum est maius sua parte," vel quaecumque alia dignitas, cui non est contradicere "ad interius rationem."[3]

1 Cf. *Exod.* 26, 34—35.
2 *Ps.* 4, 7. 3 Aristot., 1 *Poster.* 8.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSIDERATION OF GOD THROUGH HIS IMAGE IMPRINTED ON OUR NATURAL POWERS

1. The first two steps, by leading us to God through vestiges through which He shines forth in all creatures, have thereby led us to re-enter[1] into ourselves, that is, into our mind, where the divine image shines forth. Here it is that, at the third place, entering into ourselves, and forsaking the inner atrium, we ought now to strive to see God through a mirror in the Holy of Holies, that is, in the place before the Tabernacle.[2] Here the light of Truth, as from a candelabra, will shine upon the face of our mind, in which the image[3] of the most Blessed Trinity appears in splendor.

Enter into yourself, therefore, and observe that your soul loves itself most fervently; that it could not love itself unless it knew itself, nor know itself unless it summoned itself to conscious memory, for we do not grasp a thing with our understanding unless it is present in our memory. Hence you can observe, not with the bodily eye, but with the eye of the mind,[4] that your soul has three powers. Consider, therefore, the activities of these three powers and their relationships, and you will be able to see God through yourself as through an image; and this indeed is to *see through a mirror in an obscure manner.*

2. The activity of the memory[5] is to retain and represent not only present, corporeal, and temporal things, but also successive, simple, and everlasting things. It retains the past by remembrance, the present by reception, and the future by foresight. It retains also simple things which are the principles of continuous and discrete quantities, as the point, the instant, and unity, without which it is impossible to bring to our memory or to think of things which stem from them. It retains also in an enduring way the principles and axioms[6] of the sciences as themselves enduring, for as long as one uses reason he can never forget them, so that on hearing them again, he would approve and give his assent to them, not as though he perceives them anew, but rather he recognizes them as innate and familiar. That this is so becomes clear when one proposes the following principle: "Everything is either affirmed or denied"; or "Every whole is greater than its part"; or any other axiom that may not be contradicted in the "interior discourse of the soul." In its first activity, the actual

Ex *prima* igitur retentione actuali omnium temporalium, praeteritorum scilicet, praesentium et futurorum, habet effigiem *aeternitatis*, cuius praesens indivisibile ad omnia tempora se extendit. — Ex *secunda* apparet, quod ipsa non solum habet *ab exteriori* formari per phantasmata, verum etiam *a superiori* suscipiendo et in se habendo simplices formas, quae non possunt introire per portas sensuum et sensibilium phantasias. — Ex *tertia* habetur, quod ipsa habet lucem incommutabilem sibi praesentem, in qua meminit invariabilium veritatum. — Et sic per *operationes* memoriae apparet, quod ipsa anima est imago Dei et similitudo adeo sibi praesens et eum habens praesentem, quod eum actu capit et per potentiam "capax eius est et particeps esse potest."[4]

3. *Operatio* autem virtutis *intellectivae* est in perceptione intellectus *terminorum*, *propositionum* et *illationum*. — Capit autem intellectus *terminorum significata*, cum comprehendit, quid est unumquodque per definitionem. Sed definitio habet fieri per superiora, et illa per superiora definiri habent, usquequo veniatur ad suprema et generalissima, quibus ignoratis, non possunt intelligi *definitive* inferiora. Nisi igitur cognoscatur, quid est *ens per se*, non potest *plene* sciri definitio alicuius specialis substantiae. Nec *ens per se* cognosci potest, nisi cognoscatur cum suis conditionibus, quae sunt: *unum*, *verum*, *bonum*. Ens autem, cum possit cogitari ut *diminutum* et ut *completum*, ut *imperfectum* et ut *perfectum*, ut ens *in potentia* et ut ens *in actu*, ut ens *secundum quid* et ut ens *simpliciter*, ut ens *in parte* et ut ens *totaliter*, ut ens *transiens* et ut ens *manens*, ut ens *per aliud* et ut ens *per se*, ut ens *permixtum* non-enti et ut ens *purum*, ut ens *dependens* et ut ens *absolutum*, ut ens *posterius* et ut ens *prius*, ut ens *mutabile* et ut ens *immutabile*, ut ens *simplex* et ut ens *compositum:* cum "privationes et defectus nullatenus possint cognosci nisi per positiones,"[5] non venit intellectus noster ut *plene resolvens* intellectum alicuius entium creatorum, nisi *iuvetur* ab intellectu entis purissimi, actualissimi, completissimi et absoluti, quod est *ens simpliciter* et *aeternum*, in quo sunt rationes omnium in sua puritate. Quomodo autem sciret intellectus, hoc esse ens defectivum et incompletum, si nullam haberet cognitionem entis absque omni defectu? Et sic de aliis conditionibus praelibatis.

Intellectum autem *propositionum* tunc intellectus dicitur veraciter comprehendere, cum certitudinaliter scit, illas veras

4 August., XIV *de Trin.*, 8, 11.
5 Averroes, III *de Anima*, text. 25.

retention of all things in time — past, present, and future — the memory is an image of eternity, whose indivisible present extends itself to all times. From the second activity, it is evident that the memory is capable of being informed not only from the outside by phantasms but also from above, by receiving and having in itself simple forms that cannot enter through the doors of the senses, nor through sensible phantasms. From the third activity, we hold that the memory has present in itself a changeless light in which it recalls changeless truths. And thus it is clear from the activities of the memory that the soul itself is an image of God and a similitude so present to itself and having Him so present to it that it actually grasps Him and potentially "is capable of possessing Him[7] and of becoming a partaker in Him."

3. The activity of the intellective faculty consists in understanding the meaning of terms, propositions, and inferences. First the intellect grasps the meaning of terms when it understands by a definition what each one is. But a definition must be given in more general terms; these, in turn, must be defined by others still more general, until we arrive at the highest and most general. If these last are unknown, we cannot understand the less general by way of definition. Consequently, unless one knows what being *per se* is, he cannot fully know the definition of any particular substance.[8] But being *per se* cannot be known unless it is known together with its properties, which are unity, truth, and goodness. And since being can be understood as diminished or as complete, as imperfect or as perfect, as in potency or in act, as existing in a qualified or in an unqualified manner, as in part or in entirety, as transient or permanent, as existing through something else or *per se*, as mixed with non-being or as pure being, as dependent or as absolute, as posterior or prior, as changeable or unchangeable, as simple or composite; and since "privations and defects can in no way be known except through something positive,"[9] therefore our intellect does not make a full and ultimate analysis of any single created being unless it is aided by a knowledge of the most pure, most actual, most complete and absolute Being, which is Being unqualified and eternal, and in whom are the essences of all things in their purity. For how could the intellect know that a specific being is defective and incomplete if it had no knowledge of the Being that is free from all defect? And in like manner may we reason about the other properties mentioned before.

Secondly, the intellect can be said truly to comprehend the meaning of propositions when it knows with certainty that they are true; and to know in this way is really to know, for it cannot be deceived in such comprehension. Since it knows that this truth

5 St. Bonaventure, Itinerarium

esse; et hoc scire est scire, quoniam non potest falli in illa comprehensione. Scit enim, quod veritas illa non potest aliter se habere; scit igitur, illam veritatem esse incommutabilem. Sed cum ipsa mens nostra sit commutabilis, illam sic incommutabiliter relucentem non potest videre nisi per aliquam lucem omnino incommutabiliter radiantem, quam impossibile est esse creaturam mutabilem. Scit igitur in illa luce, *quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum*, quae est, *lux vera* et *Verbum in principio apud Deum.*[6]

Intellectum vero *illationis* tunc veraciter percipit noster intellectus, quando videt, quod conclusio *necessario* sequitur ex praemissis; quod non solum videt in terminis necessariis, verum etiam in contingentibus, ut: si homo currit, homo movetur. Hanc autem necessariam habitudinem percipit non solum in rebus entibus, verum etiam in non-entibus. Sicut enim, homine existente, sequitur: si homo currit, homo movetur; sic etiam, non existente. Huiusmodi igitur *illationis necessitas* non venit ab existentia rei in *materia*, quia est contingens, nec ab existentia rei in *anima*, quia tunc esset fictio, si non esset in re; venit igitur ab exemplaritate in arte aeterna, secundum quam res habent aptitudinem et habitudinem ad invicem secundum illius aeternae artis *repraesentationem*. Omnis igitur, ut dicit Augustinus de Vera Religione,[7] *vere ratiocinantis* lumen accenditur ab illa veritate et ad ipsam nititur pervenire. — Ex quo manifeste apparet, quod coniunctus sit intellectus noster ipsi aeternae veritati, dum non nisi per illam docentem nihil verum potest certitudinaliter capere. Videre igitur per te potes veritatem, quae te docet, si te concupiscentiae et phantasmata non impediant et se tamquam nubes inter te et veritatis radium non interponant.

4. *Operatio* autem virtutis *electivae* attenditur in *consilio*, *iudicio* et *desiderio*. — *Consilium* autem est in inquirendo, quid sit melius, hoc an illud. Sed melius non dicitur nisi per accessum ad optimum; accessus autem est secundum maiorem assimilationem; nullus ergo scit utrum hoc sit illo melius, nisi sciat, illud optimo magis assimilari. Nullus autem scit, aliquid alii magis assimilari, nisi illud cognoscat; non enim scio, hunc esse similem Petro, nisi sciem vel cognoscam Petrum: omni igitur *consilianti* necessario est impressa notio summi boni.

6 Ioan. 1, 1 et 9.
7 August., *de Vera Relig.*, 39, 72.

cannot be otherwise, it knows also that this truth is changeless. But since our mind itself is changeable, it could not see this truth shining in so changeless a manner were it not for some other light absolutely and unchangeably resplendent; nor can this light possibly be a created light subject to change. The intellect, therefore, knows in the light *that enlightens every man who comes into the world*, which is the *true light*, and *the Word in the beginning with God*.[10]

Finally, our intellect only then truly grasps the meaning of an inference when it sees that the conclusion follows necessarily from the premises and when it sees this inference not only in necessary but also in contingent terms, as, for example, "If a man runs, a man moves." Our mind perceives this necessary relationship not only in existent things, but also in non-existent ones. For just as it follows, granted a man's existence, that "If a man runs, a man moves," so also does the same conclusion follow if he does not exist at all. But such necessity of inference does not follow from the existence of the thing in matter, since it is contingent; nor from its existence in the mind, because that would be a fiction if the thing did not exist in reality. Hence it must come from the exemplarity in the Eternal Art, in reference to which things have an aptitude for each other and a relation, because they are represented in the Eternal Art. Thus, as St. Augustine says in *De Vera Religione*, "The light of one who reasons truly is enkindled by that Truth and strives to go back to It." From this it is manifestly evident that our understanding is joined to eternal Truth itself, and if this light does not teach, no truth can be grasped with certitude. You are able, then, to see what truth can teach you within yourself, if desires and sensory images do not hinder you and become as clouds between you and the ray of Truth.

4. The activity of the elective faculty is found in counsel, judgment, and desire. Counsel consists in inquiring which is better, this or that. But something can be said to be better only because it approaches the best. The approach, however, is proportionate to its higher degree of likeness. But no one knows whether this thing is better than that unless he knows that this is in a higher degree more like the best. And no one knows that one thing is more like another unless he knows the other. For I do not know that this man is like Peter unless I know or recognize Peter. Therefore, the notion of the highest good must necessarily be impressed on all who give counsel.[11]

Iudicium autem certum de consiliabilibus est per aliquam legem. Nullus autem certitudinaliter iudicat per legem, nisi certus sit, quod illa lex recta est, et quod ipsam iudicare non debet; sed mens nostra iudicat de se ipsa; cum igitur non possit iudicare de lege, per quam iudicat, lex illa superior est mente nostra, et per hanc iudicat, secundum quod sibi impressa est. Nihil autem est superius mente humana, nisi solus ille qui fecit eam: igitur in iudicando *deliberativa* nostra pertingit ad divinas leges, si *plena resolutione* dissolvat.

Desiderium autem principaliter est illius quod maxime ipsum movet. Maxime autem movet quod maxime amatur; maxime autem amatur esse beatum; beatum autem esse non habetur nisi per optimum et finem ultimum: nihil igitur appetit humanum *desiderium* nisi quia summum bonum, vel quia est ad illud, vel quia habet aliquam effigiem illius. Tanta est vis summi boni, ut nihil nisi per illius desiderium a creatura possit amari, quae tunc fallitur et errat, cum effigiem et simulacrum pro veritate acceptat.

Vide igitur, quomodo anima Deo est propinqua, et quomodo memoria in aeternitatem, intelligentia in veritatem, electiva potentia ducit in bonitatem summam secundum operationes suas.

5. Secundum autem harum potentiarum *ordinem* et *originem* et *habitudinem* ducit in ipsam beatissimam Trinitatem. — Nam ex memoria oritur intelligentia ut ipsius proles, quia tunc intelligimus, cum similitudo, quae est in memoria, resultat in acie intellectus, quae nihil aliud est quam verbum; ex memoria et intelligentia spiratur amor tanquam nexus amborum. Haec tria, scilicet *mens generans*, *verbum* et *amor*, sunt in anima quoad memoriam, intelligentiam et voluntatem, quae sunt consubstantiales, coaequales et coaevae, se invicem circumincedentes. Si igitur Deus perfectus est spiritus, habet *memoriam*, *intelligentiam* et *voluntatem*, habet et *Verbum* genitum et *Amorem* spiratum, qui necessario distinguuntur, cum unus ab altero producatur, non *essentialiter*, non *accidentaliter*, ergo *personaliter*.

Dum igitur mens se ipsam considerat, per se tanquam per speculum consurgit ad speculandam Trinitatem beatam Patris, Verbi et Amoris, trium personarum coaeternarum, coaequalium et consubstantialium, ita quod quilibet in quolibet est aliorum, unus tamen non est alius, sed ipsi tres sunt unus Deus.

6. Ad hanc speculationem, quam habet anima de suo principio trino et uno per trinitatem suarum potentiarum, per quas est

Moreover, the sure judgment of things subject to counsel is made according to some law. No one, however, judges with certainty according to a law unless he is certain that the law is right and that he ought not to judge the law itself. But our mind does judge about itself. And since it cannot judge about the law according to which it judges, that law is higher than our mind, and the mind judges by means of it because it is stamped on the mind. But there is nothing higher than the human mind save only Him who made it. Therefore, in its judging, our deliberative faculty touches the divine laws, if it makes a full and ultimate analysis.

Finally, desire[12] is concerned principally with what moves it most, but that moves it most which is loved most, and what is loved most is happiness. But happiness is not attained unless the best and final end is possessed. Human desire, therefore, seeks nothing except because of the highest Good, either because it leads to it, or has some likeness to it. So great is the power of the highest Good that nothing can be loved by a creature except through the desire for that Good, so that he who takes the image and the copy for truth errs and goes astray.

See, therefore, how close the soul is to God, and how, through their activity, the memory leads us to eternity, the intelligence to Truth, and the elective faculty to the highest Good.

5. Moreover, if one considers the order, the origin, and the relationship of these faculties to one another, he is led up to the most blessed Trinity Itself. For from the memory comes forth the intelligence as its offspring, because we understand only when the likeness which is in the memory emerges at the crest of our understanding and this is the mental word.[13] From the memory and the intelligence is breathed forth love, as the bond of both. These three — the generating mind, the word, and love — exist in the soul as memory, intelligence, and will, which are consubstantial, co-equal and contemporary, and interpenetrating. If God, therefore, is a perfect spirit, then He has memory, intelligence, and will; He has both a Word[14] begotten and a Love breathed forth, which are necessarily distinct, since one is produced by the other — a production, not of an essence, nor of an accident, but of a Person.

The soul, then, when it considers itself through itself as through a mirror, rises to the speculation of the Blessed Trinity, the Father, the Word, and Love, Three Persons co-eternal, co-equal and consubstantial, so that whatever is in any one is in the others, but one is not the other, but all three are one God.[15]

6. For this consideration which the soul has of its principle, one and triune, through the trinity of its powers, by which it is

imago Dei, *iuvatur* per lumina *scientiarum*, quae ipsam perficiunt et informant et Trinitatem beatissimam tripliciter repraesentant. — Nam omnis philosophia aut est *naturalis*, aut *rationalis*, aut *moralis*. Prima agit de causa essendi, et ideo ducit in *potentiam Patris;* secunda de ratione intelligendi, et ideo ducit in *sapientiam Verbi;* tertia de ordine vivendi, et ideo ducit in *bonitatem Spiritus sancti*.

Rursus, *prima* dividitur in metaphysicam, mathematicam et physicam. Et prima est de rerum essentiis, secunda de numeris et figuris, tertia de naturis, virtutibus et operationibus diffusivis. Et ideo prima in *primum principium, Patrem*, secunda in eius *imaginem, Filium*, tertia ducit in *Spiritus sancti donum*.

Secunda dividitur in grammaticam, quae facit potentes ad exprimendum; in logicam, quae facit perspicaces ad arguendum; in rhetoricam, quae facit habiles ad persuadendum sive movendum. Et hoc similiter insinuat mysterium ipsius beatissimae Trinitatis.

Tertia dividitur in monasticam, oeconomicam et politicam. Et ideo prima insinuat *primi principii innascibilitatem*, secunda *Filii familiaritatem*, tertia *Spiritus sancti liberalitatem*.

7. Omnes autem hae scientiae habent regulas certas et infallibiles tanquam lumina et radios decendentes a lege aeterna in mentem nostram. Et ideo mens nostra tantis splendoribus irradiata et superfusa, nisi sit caeca, manuduci potest per semet-ipsam ad contemplandam illam lucem aeternam. Huius autem lucis irradiatio et consideratio sapientes suspendit in admirationem et econtra insipientes, qui non credunt, ut intelligant, ducit in perturbationem, ut impleatur illud propheticum: *Illuminans tu mirabiliter a montibus aeternis, turbati sunt omnes insipientes corde.*[8]

8 *Ps.* 75, 5.

the image of God, it is aided by the lights of the sciences which perfect it, inform it, and represent the most blessed Trinity in a threefold manner. For all philosophy is either natural, or rational, or moral. The first is concerned with the cause of being and thus leads to the power of the Father; the second is concerned with the basis of understanding and thus leads to the Wisdom of the Word; the third deals with the order of life and thus leads to the goodness of the Holy Spirit.[16]

Hence the first, natural philosophy, is divided into metaphysics, mathematics, and physics.[17] Metaphysics deals with the essences of things; mathematics, with numbers and figures; and physics, with natures, powers, and diffusive operations. Thus the first leads to the first Principle, the Father; the second, to His Image, the Son; and the third, to the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The second, rational philosophy, is divided into grammar, which makes men capable of expressing themselves; logic, which makes them keen in argumentation; and rhetoric, which makes them apt to persuade or move others. This likewise suggests the mystery of the most Blessed Trinity.

The third, moral philosophy, is divided into individual, familial, and political. The first of these suggests the unbegettable nature of the First Principle; the second, the familial relationship of the Son; and the third, the liberality of the Holy Spirit.

7. All these branches of knowledge have certain and infallible laws as lights and beacons shining down into our mind from the eternal law. And thus our mind, enlightened and overflooded by so much brightness, unless it is blind, can be guided through itself to contemplate that eternal Light. And, in truth, the consideration of this Light's irradiation raises up in admiration the wise, but on the contrary, the unwise, who do not believe so that they may understand, it leads to confusion. Hence is fulfilled the prophecy: *Thou enlightenest wonderfully from the everlasting hills. All the foolish of heart were troubled.*

CAP. IV

De speculatione Dei in sua imagine donis gratuitis reformata.

1. Sed quoniam non solum *per nos* transeundo, verum etiam *in nobis* contingit contemplari primum principium, et hoc maius est quam praecedens: ideo hic modus considerandi quartum obtinet contemplationis gradum. Mirum autem videtur, cum ostensum sit, quod Deus sit ita propinquus mentibus nostris, quod tam paucorum est in se ipsis primum principium speculari. Sed ratio est in promptu, quia mens humana, sollicitudinibus distracta, non intrat ad se per *memoriam;* phantasmatibus obnubilata, non redit ad se per *intelligentiam;* concupiscentiis illecta, ad se ipsam nequaquam revertitur per *desiderium* suavitatis internae et laetitiae spiritualis. Ideo totaliter in his sensibilibus iacens, non potest ad se tanquam ad Dei imaginem reintrare.

2. Et quoniam, ubi quis ceciderit, necesse habet ibidem recumbere, nisi apponat quis et *adiiciat, ut resurgat,*[1] non potuit anima nostra perfecte ab his sensibilibus relevari ad contuitum sui et aeternae Veritatis in se ipsa, nisi Veritas, assumta forma humana in Christo, fieret sibi scala reparans priorem scalam, quae fracta fuerat in Adam.

Ideo, quantumcumque sit illuminatus quis lumine naturae et scientiae acquisitae, non potest intrare in se, ut in se ipso *delectetur in Domino,*[2] nisi mediante Christo, qui dicit: *Ego sum ostium. Per me si quis introierit, salvabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inveniet.*[3] Ad hoc autem *ostium* non appropinquamus, nisi in ipsum *credamus, speremus* et *amemus.* Necesse est igitur, si reintrare volumus ad fruitionem Veritatis tanquam ad paradisum, quod ingrediamur per *fidem, spem* et *caritatem* mediatoris Dei et hominum Iesu Christi, qui est tanquam *lignum vitae in medio paradisi.*[4]

3. Supervestienda est igitur imago mentis nostrae tribus virtutibus theologicis, quibus anima *purificatur, illuminatur* et *perficitur,* et sic imago reformatur et conformis supernae Ierusalem

1 Isai. 24, 20.
2 *Ps.* 36, 4.
3 Ioan. 10, 9.
4 I *Tim.* 2, 5; *Gen.* 2, 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONSIDERATION OF GOD IN HIS IMAGE REFORMED THROUGH THE GIFTS OF GRACE

1. Since we contemplate the First Principle not only through us on our way, but also in us, and since this kind of consideration is more excellent than the former, therefore it holds the fourth step in contemplation. It seems strange indeed that after what has been shown of God's closeness to our souls there are so few concerned about perceiving the First Principle within themselves. Distracted by many cares, the human mind does not enter into itself through the memory; beclouded by sense images, it does not come back to itself through the intelligence; and drawn away by the concupiscences, it does not return to itself through the desire for interior sweetness and spiritual joy. Therefore, completely immersed in things of sense, the soul cannot re-enter into itself as the image of God.

2. And just as, when one has fallen, he must lie where he is unless another is at hand to raise him up, so our soul could not be perfectly lifted up out of these things of sense to see itself and the eternal Truth in itself had not Truth, taking human form in Christ, become a ladder restoring the first ladder that had been broken in Adam.

Thus it is that, no matter how enlightened one may be by the light coming from nature and from acquired knowledge, he cannot enter into himself to delight in the Lord except through the mediation of Christ, Who says, *I am the door. If anyone enter by me he shall be safe, and shall go in and out, and shall find pastures.* But we do not come to this door unless we believe in Him, hope in Him, and love Him. Therefore, if we wish to enter again into the enjoyment of Truth as into Paradise, we must go in through faith and hope in, and love for the Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ, Who is like *the Tree of life in the midst of Paradise.*

3. The image of our soul, therefore, must be clothed over with the three theological virtues, by which the soul is purified, enlightened, and perfected.[1] In this way the image is reformed and made conformable to the heavenly Jerusalem, and a part of the Church Militant, which, according to the Apostle, is the offspring of the heavenly Jerusalem. For he says, *That Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our mother.* The soul, therefore, now be-

efficitur et pars Ecclesiae militantis, quae est proles, secundum Apostolum, Ierusalem caelestis. Ait enim: *Illa quae sursum est Ierusalem libera est, quae est mater nostra.*[5] — Anima igitur credens, sperans et amans Iesum Christum, qui est Verbum *incarnatum*, *increatum* et *inspiratum*, scilicet *via*, *veritas* et *vita*,[6] dum per *fidem* credit in Christum tanquam in Verbum *increatum*, quod est Verbum et splendor Patris,[7] recuperat spiritualem *auditum* et *visum*: *auditum* ad suscipiendum Christi sermones, *visum* ad considerandum illius lucis splendores. Dum autem *spe* suspirat ad suscipiendum Verbum *inspiratum*, per desiderium et affectum recuperat spiritualem *olfactum*. Dum *caritate* complectitur Verbum *incarnatum*, ut suscipiens ab ipso delectationem et ut transiens in illud per ecstaticum amorem, recuperat *gustum* et *tactum*. Quibus sensibus recuperatis, dum sponsum suum videt et audit, odoratur, gustat et amplexatur, decantare potest tanquam sponsa Canticum canticorum, quod factum fuit ad exercitium contemplationis secundum hunc quartum gradum, quem *nemo* capit, *nisi qui accipit*,[8] quia magis est in experientia affectuali quam in consideratione rationali. In hoc namque gradu, reparatis sensibus interioribus ad sentiendum summe pulcrum, audiendum summe harmonicum, odorandum summe odoriferum, degustandum summe suave, apprehendendum summe delectabile, disponitur anima ad mentales excessus, scilicet per *devotionem*, *admirationem* et *exsultationem*, secundum illas tres exclamationes, quae fiunt in Canticis canticorum. Quarum prima fit per abundantiam *devotionis*, per quam fit anima *sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris;* secunda per excellentiam *admirationis*, per quam fit anima sicut *aurora*, *luna* et *sol*, secundum processum illuminationum suspendentium animam ad admirandum sponsum consideratum; tertia per superabundantiam *exsultationis*, per quam fit anima suavissimae delectationis *deliciis affluens*, *innixa* totaliter *super dilectum suum*.[9]

4. Quibus adeptis, efficitur spiritus noster *hierarchicus* ad conscendendum sursum secundum conformitatem ad illam Ierusalem supernam, in quam nemo intrat, nisi prius per gratiam ipsa in cor descendat, sicut vidit Ioannes in Apocalypsi sua.[10] Tunc autem in cor descendit, quando per reformationem imaginis, per virtutes theologicas et per oblectationes spiritualium sensuum et suspensiones excessuum efficitur spiritus noster *hierarchicus*, scilicet purgatus, illuminatus et perfectus. — Sic etiam gradibus novem ordinum insignitur, dum ordinate in eo interius disponitur *nuntiatio*, *dictatio*, *ductio*, *ordinatio*, *roboratio*,

5 *Gal.* 4, 26. 6 Ioan. 14, 6. 7 *Ibid.* 1, 1; *Hebr.* 1, 3.
8 *Apoc.* 2, 17. 9 *Cant.* 3, 6; 6, 9; 8, 5. 10 *Apoc.* 21, 2.

lieves and hopes in Jesus Christ and loves Him, Who is the incarnate, uncreated, and inspired Word — the Way, the Truth, and the Life. When the soul by faith believes in Christ as in the uncreated Word, Who is the Word and the brightness of the Father, she recovers her spiritual hearing and sight,[2] hearing to receive the words of Christ, and sight to view the splendors of that Light. When the soul longs with hope to receive the inspired Word, she recovers, because of her desire and affection, the spiritual sense of smell. When she embraces with love the Incarnate Word, inasmuch as she receives delight from Him and passes over to Him in ecstatic love, she recovers her sense of taste and touch. Having recovered the spiritual senses, the soul now sees, hears, smells, tastes, and embraces her beloved, and can sing as a bride the *Canticle of Canticles*, which was composed for the exercise of contemplation proper to the fourth step. No one reaches this except him who receives it, for it consists more in the experience of the affections than in the considerations of the mind. It is at this step, where the interior senses have been restored to see what is most beautiful, to hear what is most harmonious, to smell what is most fragrant, to taste what is most sweet, and to embrace what is most delightful, that the soul is prepared for spiritual transports through devotion, admiration, and exultation, corresponding to the three exclamations uttered in the *Canticle of Canticles*. The first of these is uttered out of the abundance of devotion, by which the soul becomes *as a pillar of smoke of aromatic spices, of myrrh and frankincense.* The second is uttered out of the exuberance of admiration by which the soul becomes as the dawn, the moon, and the sun, according to the degree of enlightenment that lifts up the soul to admire the Bridegroom whom she contemplates. The third is uttered out of the superabundance of exultation, because of which the soul is made to overflow *with delights* of most sweet pleasure, *leaning* wholly *upon her beloved.*

4. These things attained, our spirit, inasmuch as it is in conformity with the heavenly Jerusalem, is made hierarchic[3] in order to mount upward. For into this heavenly Jerusalem no one enters unless it first comes down into his heart by grace, as St. John beheld in the Apocalypse. It comes down into our heart when, by the reformation of the image, the theological virtues, the delights of the spiritual senses, and uplifting transports, our spirit becomes hierarchic, that is, purified, enlightened, and perfected. Thus our spirit is sealed with the nine degrees of orders, when in its inner depths the following are arranged in due order: announcing, dictating, guiding, ordering, strengthening, commanding, receiving, revealing, and anointing, and these correspond,

imperatio, susceptio, revelatio, unctio, quae gradatim correspondent novem ordinibus Angelorum, ita quod primi trium praedictorum gradus respiciunt in mente humana *naturam,* tres sequentes *industriam,* et tres postremi *gratiam.* Quibus habitis, anima intrando in se ipsam, intrat in supernam Ierusalem, ubi ordines Angelorum considerans, videt in eis Deum, qui habitans in eis omnes eorum operatur operationes. Unde dicit Bernardus ad Eugenium,[11] quod "Deus in Seraphim amat ut caritas, in Cherubim novit ut veritas, in Thronis sedet ut aequitas, in Dominationibus dominatur ut maiestas, in Principatibus regit ut principium, in Potestatibus tuetur ut salus, in Virtutibus operatur ut virtus, in Archangelis revelat ut lux, in Angelis assistit ut pietas." Ex quibus omnibus videtur *Deus omnia in omnibus*[12] per contemplationem ipsius in mentibus, in quibus habitat per dona affluentissimae caritatis.

5. Ad huius autem speculationis gradum specialiter et praecipue adminiculatur consideratio sacrae *Scripturae* divinitus immissae, sicut philosophia ad praecedentem. Sacra enim Scriptura principaliter est de operibus reparationis. Unde et ipsa praecipue agit de fide, spe et caritate, per quas virtutes habet anima reformari, et specialissime de caritate. De qua dicit Apostolus, quod *est finis praecepti,* secundum quod est *de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.* Ipsa est *plenitudo Legis,* ut dicit idem.[13] Et Salvator noster asserit, totam Legem Prophetasque pendere in duobus praeceptis eiusdem,[14] scilicet dilectione Dei et proximi; quae duo innuuntur in uno sponso Ecclesiae Iesu Christo, qui simul est proximus et Deus, simul frater et dominus, simul etiam rex et amicus, simul Verbum increatum et incarnatum, formator noster et reformator, ut *alpha* et *omega:*[15] qui etiam summus hierarcha est, purgans et illuminans et perficiens sponsam, scilicet totam Ecclesiam et quamlibet animam sanctam.

6. De hoc igitur hierarcha et ecclesiastica hierarchia est tota sacra Scriptura, per quam docemur purgari, illuminari et perfici, et hoc secundum triplicem *legem* in ea traditam, scilicet naturae, Scripturae et gratiae; vel potius secundum triplicem *partem eius principalem,* legem scilicet Moysaicam purgantem, revelationem propheticam illustrantem et eruditionem evangelicam perficientem; vel potissimum secundum triplicem eius *intelligentiam spiritualem: tropologicam* quae purgat ad honestatem vitae; *allegoricam,* quae illuminat ad claritatem intelligentiae; *ana-*

11 *Sive* V *de Considerat.,* 5, 12.
12 1 *Cor.* 15, 28.
13 1 *Tim.* 1, 5; *Rom.* 13, 10.
14 Matth. 22, 40.
15 *Apoc.* 1, 8; 21, 6; 22, 13.

step by step, to the nine orders of angels. In the human mind the first three degrees of the aforementioned orders concern nature; the following three, activity; and the last three, grace. Having obtained these, the soul, entering into itself, enters into the celestial Jerusalem, where, considering the order of the angels, it sees in them God, who dwells in them and performs all their works. That is why St. Bernard says in his letter to Pope Eugene IV that "God loves in the Seraphim as charity, knows in the Cherubim as truth, resides in the Thrones as equity, is lord in the Dominations as majesty, rules in the Principalities as prince, guards in the Powers as salvation, acts in the Virtues as strength, reveals in the Archangels as light, and assists in the Angels as kindness." From all this, God is seen as *all in all* when we contemplate Him in our minds where He dwells through the gifts of the most bountiful love.

5. On this level of contemplation the study of the divinely committed Sacred Scriptures is most especially helpful, as philosophy was on the preceding step. For Sacred Scripture is concerned principally with the work of reparation. Hence it treats mainly of faith, hope, and charity, by which the soul must be reformed, and most especially of charity. The Apostle says that charity is the end of the commandment, inasmuch as it stems *from a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned*. It is the *fullfilment of the Law*, the same Apostle says. And our Savior asserts that the whole Law and the Prophets depend on these two commandments, the love of God and of our neighbor. These two are signified by the one Spouse of the Church, Jesus Christ, Who is at one and the same time our Neighbor and our God, our Brother and our Lord, our King and our Friend, Word incarnate and uncreated Word, our Maker and our Re-maker, the *Alpha* and the *Omega*, Who is also the supreme Hierarch, Who purifies, enlightens, and perfects His spouse, that is, the whole Church and every sanctified soul.

6. All Sacred Scripture, therefore, treats of this Hierarch and of the hierarchy of the Church. By it we are taught how to be purified, enlightened, and perfected according to the threefold law handed down: the law of nature, the law of Scriptures,[4] and the law of grace. Or rather, they correspond to its three principal parts, the Law of Moses which purifies, the Prophetic Revelation which enlightens, and the Evangelical doctrine which perfects. Or more especially, they correspond to its three spiritual meanings: the tropological which purifies for righteousness of life, the allegorical which enlightens for clearness of understanding; and the anagogical which perfects through spiritual transports and most sweet perceptions of wisdom. All this takes place in keeping

gogicam, quae perficit per excessus mentales et sapientiae perceptiones suavissimas, secundum *virtutes* praedictas tres theologicas et *sensus* spirituales reformatos et *excessus* tres supradictos et *actus mentis hierarchicos*, quibus ad interiora regreditur mens nostra, ut ibidem speculetur Deum *in splendoribus Sanctorum*[16] et in eisdem tanquam in cubilibus *dormiat in pace et requiescat*,[17] sponso adiurante, quod non excitetur, donec de eius voluntate procedat.[18]

7. Ex his autem duobus gradibus mediis, per quos ingredimur ad contemplandum Deum *intra nos* tanquam in speculis imaginum creatarum, et hoc quasi ad modum alarum expansarum ad volandum, quae tenebant medium locum,[19] intelligere possumus, quod in divina manuducimur per ipsius animae rationalis potentias *naturaliter insitas* quantum ad earum *operationes*, *habitudines* et *habitus scientiales;* secundum quod apparet ex tertio gradu. — Manuducimur etiam per ipsius animae potentias *reformatas*, et hoc gratuitis *virtutibus*, *sensibus* spiritualibus et mentalibus *excessibus*, sicut patet ex quarto. — Manuducimur nihilominus per *hierarchicas operationes*, scilicet purgationis, illuminationis et perfectionis mentium humanarum, per hierarchicas revelationes sacrarum Scripturarum nobis per Angelos datarum, secundum illud Apostoli, quod Lex data est *per Angelos in manu Mediatoris*.[20] Et tandem manuducimur per *hierarchias et hierarchicos ordines*, qui in mente nostra disponi habent ad instar supernae Ierusalem.

8. Quibus omnibus luminibus intellectualibus mens nostra repleta, a divina Sapientia tanquam domus Dei inhabitatur, effecta Dei filia, sponsa et amica; effecta Christi capitis membrum, soror et coheres; effecta nihilominus Spiritus sancti templum, fundatum per fidem, elevatum per spem et Deo dedicatum per mentis et corporis sanctitatem. Quod totum facit sincerissima caritas Christi, quae *diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis*,[21] sine quo Spiritu non possumus scire secreta Dei. Sicut enim *quae sunt hominis* nemo potest scire *nisi spiritus hominis, qui est in illo; ita et quae sunt Dei nemo scit nisi spiritus Dei*.[22] — In caritate igitur radicemur et fundemur, *ut possimus comprehendere cum omnibus Sanctis, quae sit longitudo* aeternitatis, quae *latitudo* liberalitatis, quae *sublimitas* maiestatis et quod *profundum* sapientiae iudicantis.[23]

16 *Ps.* 109, 3.
17 *Ps.* 4, 9.
18 *Cant.* 2, 7.
19 Isai. 6, 2.
20 *Gal.* 3, 19.
21 *Rom.* 5, 5.
22 1 *Cor.* 2, 11.
23 *Eph.* 3, 18—19.

with the three aforementioned theological virtues, the reformed spiritual senses, the three spiritual transports, and the hierarchical acts of the mind by which it turns back to its interior there to see God *in the brightness of His Saints;* and there as in her resting place she sleeps in peace and rests while the bridegroom beseeches that the spouse may not be awakened until she pleases to come forth.

7. Thus by these two intermediate steps through which we enter into the contemplation of God within us as in mirrors of created images, like the two middle wings of the Seraph spread for flight, we can understand how we are guided to things divine through the rational soul itself and its naturally implanted faculties, considered in their activities, their relationships, and their possession of sciences. This is apparent from the explanation of the third step. We are also guided by the reformed faculties of the soul itself. This takes place with the help of freely-given virtues, spiritual senses, and spiritual transports. And this becomes clear in the fourth step. Moreover we are guided by the hierarchical activities of the human soul, its purification, enlightenment, and perfection, and by the hierarchical revelations of Sacred Scripture, given to us by the angels, according to the word of the Apostle that the Law was given *by angels through a mediator.* And finally, we are led through the hierarchies and the hierarchic orders which must be arranged in our mind as they are in the heavenly Jerusalem.

8. Filled with all these intellectual lights, our mind like the house of God is inhabited by Divine Wisdom; it is made a daughter, a spouse, and a friend of God; it is made a member, a sister, a co-heir of Christ the Head; it is made the temple of the Holy Spirit, faith laying the foundation, hope building it up, and sanctity of soul and body dedicating it to God. All this is accomplished by a most sincere love of Christ, which *is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit Who has been given to us,* without Whom we cannot know the mysteries of God. For no one can *know the things of a man save the spirit of the man which is in him. Even so, the things of God no one knows but the Spirit of God.* Let us, therefore, be rooted and grounded in charity *that we may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the length* of the eternity, the breadth of the liberality, the height of the majesty, and the depth of the discerning wisdom of God.

CAP. V

De speculatione divinae unitatis per eius nomen primarium, quod est esse.

1. Quoniam autem contingit contemplari Deum non solum *extra nos* et *intra nos*, verum etiam *supra nos: extra* per vestigium, *intra* per imaginem et *supra* per lumen, quod est signatum supra mentem nostram,[1] quod est lumen Veritatis aeternae, cum "ipsa mens nostra immediate ab ipsa Veritate formetur";[2] qui exercitati sunt in primo modo intraverunt iam in *atrium* ante tabernaculum; qui vero in secundo, intraverunt in *sancta;* qui autem in tertio, intrant cum summo Pontifice in *sancta sanctorum;* ubi supra arcam sunt Cherubim gloriae obumbrantia propitiatorium,[3] per quae intelligimus duos modos seu gradus contemplandi Dei invisibilia et aeterna, quorum unus versatur circa essentialia Dei, alius vero circa propria personarum.

2. Primus modus primo et principaliter defigit aspectum in ipsum *esse*, dicens, quod *qui est*[4] est primum nomen Dei. Secundus modus defigit aspectum in ipsum *bonum*, dicens, hoc esse primum nomen Dei. Primum spectat potissime ad *vetus* testamentum, quod maxime praedicat divinae essentiae unitatem; unde dictum est Moysi: *Ego sum qui sum*,[5] secundum ad *novum*, quod determinat personarum pluralitatem, baptizando *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*.[6] Ideo magister noster Christus, volens adolescentem, qui servaverat Legem, ad evangelicam levare perfectionem, nomen *bonitatis* Deo principaliter et praecise attribuit. *Nemo*, inquit, *bonus nisi solus Deus*.[7] Damascenus igitur sequens Moysen dicit, quod *qui est* est primum nomen Dei; Dionysius sequens Christum dicit, quod *bonum* est primum nomen Dei.[8]

3. Volens igitur contemplari Dei invisibilia quoad *essentiae unitatem* primo defigat aspectum in ipsum *esse* et videat, ipsum

1 *Ps.* 4, 7. 2 August., *83 Qq.*, q. 51, 2, 4.
3 *Exod.* 25—28. 4 *Ibid.* 3, 14.
5 *Ibid.* 6 Matth. 28, 19. 7 Luc. 18, 19.
8 Damasc., Libr. 1 *de Fide orthod.*, 9; Dionys., *de Div. Nov.*, 3, 1; 4, 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE DIVINE UNITY THROUGH ITS PRIMARY NAME WHICH IS *BEING*

1. It is possible to contemplate God not only outside us and within us but also above us: outside, through vestiges of Him; within, through His image; and above, through the light that shines upon our mind. This is the light of Eternal Truth, since "our very mind is formed immediately by Truth Itself." Those who have become practiced in the first way of contemplation have already entered the atrium before the Tabernacle; those who have become practiced in the second have entered into the Holy Places; and those who are practiced in the third, enter with the High Priest into the Holy of Holies, where the Cherubim of Glory stand over the Ark, overshadowing the Seat of Mercy. By these Cherubim we understand the two kinds or degrees of contemplating the invisible and eternal things of God: the first considers the essential attributes of God; the second, the proper attributes of the Persons.

2. The first method fixes the soul's gaze primarily and principally on Being Itself, declaring that the first name of God is *He Who is*. The second method fixes the soul's gaze on the Good Itself, saying that this is the first name of God. The former looks especially to the Old Testament, which proclaims chiefly the unity of the divine essence. Hence it was said to Moses, *I am Who am*. The latter looks to the New Testament, which determines the plurality of the Divine Persons by baptizing *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*. Thus it is that Christ, our Master, wishing to raise up to the perfection of the Gospel the youth who had observed the Law, attributed to God principally and exclusively the name *Goodness*. For He says, *No one is good but only God*. Hence St. John Damascene, following Moses, says that *He who is* is the first name of God; whereas Dionysius, following Christ, says that *Good* is the first name of God.

3. He, therefore, who wishes to contemplate the invisible things of God in relation to the unity of His essence should fix the attention of his soul on Being Itself and see that Being Itself is so absolutely certain that it cannot be thought not to be,[1] because the most pure Being Itself does not come to our mind except in full flight from non-being, as also the absolute nothing

esse adeo in se *certissimum*, quod non potest cogitari non esse, quia ipsum *esse purissimum* non occurrit nisi in plena fuga *non-esse*, sicut et *nihil* in plena fuga *esse*. Sicut igitur *omnino nihil* nihil habet de *esse* nec de eius conditionibus, sic econtra ipsum *esse* nihil habet de *non-esse*, nec actu nec potentia, nec secundum veritatem rei nec secundum aestimationem nostram. Cum autem *non-esse* privatio sit essendi, non cadit in intellectum nisi per *esse; esse* autem non cadit per aliud, quia omne, quod intelligitur, aut intelligitur ut *non ens*, aut ut *ens in potentia*, aut ut *ens in actu*. Si igitur *non ens* non potest intelligi nisi per *ens*, et *ens in potentia*, non nisi per *ens in actu*, et *esse* nominat ipsum purum actum entis: *esse* igitur est quod primo cadit in intellectu, et illud *esse* est quod est purus actus. Sed hoc non est *esse* particulare, quod est *esse* arctatum, quia permixtum est cum potentia; nec *esse* analogum, quia minime habet de actu, eo quod minime est. Restat igitur, quod illud *esse* est esse divinum.

4. Mira igitur est caecitas intellectus, qui non considerat illud quod prius videt et sine quo nihil potest cognoscere. Sed sicut oculus intentus in varias colorum differentias lucem, per quam videt cetera, non videt, et si videt, non advertit; sic oculus mentis nostrae, intentus in entia *particularia* et *universalia*, ipsum *esse extra omne genus*, licet primo occurrat menti, et per ipsum alia, tamen non advertit. Unde verissime apparet, quod "sicut oculus vespertilionis se habet ad lucem, ita se habet oculus mentis nostrae ad manifestissima naturae";[9] quia assuefactus ad tenebras entium et phantasmata sensibilium, cum ipsam lucem summi *esse* intuetur, videtur sibi nihil videre; non intelligens, quod ipsa caligo summa est mentis nostrae illuminatio,[10] sicut, quando videt oculus puram lucem, videtur sibi nihil videre.

5. Vide igitur ipsum purissimum *esse*, si potes, et occurrit tibi, quod ipsum non potest cogitari ut *ab alio acceptum;* ac per hoc necessario cogitatur ut omnimode *primum*, quod nec de nihilo nec de aliquo potest esse. Quid enim est per se, si ipsum *esse* non est per se nec a se? — Occurrit etiam tibi ut *carens omnino non-esse* ac per hoc ut nunquam incipiens, nunquam desinens, sed *aeternum*. — Occurrit etiam tibi ut *nullo modo in se habens*, nisi quod est ipsum *esse*, ac per hoc ut cum nullo compositum, sed *simplicissimum*. — Occurrit tibi ut *nihil habens possibilitatis*, quia omne

9 Aristot., II *Metaph.* text. 1 (1 brevior, c. 1).
10 *Ps.* 138, 11.

does not, except in full flight from being. Just as, therefore, complete nothingness contains nothing of being or of its attributes, so contrariwise, being itself contains nothing of non-being, either in act or in potency, in objective truth or in our estimate of it. But since non-being is the privation of being, it does not come into the intellect except by means of being. Being, however, does not come to us by means of something else, because everything that is grasped by the intellect is grasped either as non-being, or as being in potency, or as being in act. If, therefore, non-being cannot be grasped except through being, and if being in potency cannot be understood except through being in actuality, and if being designates the pure actuality of being, then being is that which first comes into the intellect, and this being is that which is pure act. But this being is not particular being, which is a limited being, since it is mixed with potentiality; nor is it analogous being, for that has the least of act because it least exists. It remains, therefore, that the being which we are considering is the Divine Being.[2]

4. Strange, then, is the blindness of the intellect which does not consider that which it sees before all others and without which it can recognize nothing.[3] But just as the eye, intent on the various differences of color, does not see the light through which it sees other things, or if it does see, does not notice it, so our mind's eye, intent on particular and universal beings, does not notice that being which is beyond all categories, even though it comes first to the mind, and through it, all other things. Wherefore it appears most true that "as the eye of the bat is disposed towards the light, so the eye of our mind is disposed towards the most evident things of nature." Thus our mind, accustomed as it is to the opaqueness in beings and the phantasms of visible things, appears to be seeing nothing when it gazes upon the light of the highest being. It does not understand that this very darkness is the supreme illumination of our mind, just as when the eye sees pure light, it seems to be seeing nothing.

5. Behold, if you can, this most pure Being[4] and you will find that it cannot be thought of as a being which is received from something else. Hence, it must necessarily be thought of as absolutely first, since it cannot come into existence from nothing or from something else. For what else exists of itself if this very being is not through and by itself? This most pure Being also appears to you as absolutely lacking in non-being, and therefore as having no beginning and no end, but is eternal. Furthermore, it appears to you as having nothing whatsoever except this very being itself, and, hence, as having no composition but is most simple. It appears to you as having nothing of possibility, since

possibile aliquo modo habet aliquid de *non-esse*, ac per hoc ut summe *actualissimum*. — Occurrit ut *nihil habens defectibilitatis*, ac per hoc ut *perfectissimum*. — Occurrit postremo ut *nihil habens diversificationis*, ac per hoc ut summe *unum*.

Esse igitur, quod est *esse* purum et *esse* simpliciter et *esse* absolutum, est *esse primarium, aeternum, simplicissimum, actualissimum, perfectissimum et summe unum*.

6. Et sunt haec ita certa, quod non potest ab intelligente ipsum *esse* cogitari horum oppositum, et unum horum necessario infert aliud. Nam quia simpliciter est *esse*, ideo simpliciter *primum;* quia simpliciter primum, ideo non est ab alio factum, nec a se ipso potuit, ergo *aeternum*. Item, quia primum et aeternum, ideo non ex aliis, ergo *simplicissimum*. Item, quia primum, aeternum et simplicissimum, ideo nihil est in eo possibilitatis cum actu permixtum, et ideo *actualissimum*. Item, quia primum, aeternum, simplicissimum, actualissimum, ideo *perfectissimum;* tali omnino nihil *deficit*, neque aliqua potest *fieri additio*. Quia primum, aeternum, simplicissimum, actualissimum, perfectissimum, ideo *summe unum*. Quod enim per omnimodam superabundantiam dicitur dicitur respectu omnium. "Quod etiam simpliciter per superabundantiam dicitur, impossibile est, ut conveniat nisi uni soli."[11] Unde, si Deus nominat esse primarium, aeternum, simplicissimum, actualissimum, perfectissimum, impossibile est, ipsum cogitari non esse, nec esse nisi *unum solum*. *Audi* igitur, *Israel, Deus tuus Deus unus est*.[12] — Si hoc vides in pura mentis simplicitate, aliqualiter perfunderis aeternae lucis illustratione.

7. Sed habes unde subleveris in admirationem. Nam ipsum *esse* est primum et *novissimum*, est aeternum et *praesentissimum*, est simplicissimum et *maximum*, est actualissimum et *immutabilissimum*, est perfectissimum et *immensum*, est summe unum et tamen *omnimodum*. — Si haec pura mente miraris, maiore luce perfunderis, dum ulterius vides, quia *ideo* est *novissimum*, quia primum. Quia enim est primum, omnia operatur propter se ipsum; et ideo necesse est, quod sit finis ultimus, initium et consummatio, *alpha et omega*.[13] — Ideo est *praesentissimum*, quia aeternum. Quia enim aeternum, non fluit ab alio nec deficit a se ipso nec

11 Aristot., V *Topic.* c. 3 (c. 5).
12 *Deut.* 6, 4.
13 *Apoc.* 1, 8; *Prov.* 16, 4.

every possible being has in some way something of non-being; and hence is supremely and in the highest degree actual. It appears to you as having no defect and thus is most perfect. Finally, it appears to you as having no diversity[5] and through this, is supremely one.

Therefore, that Being which is called pure being and simple being and absolute being is the first being, the eternal, the most simple, the most actual, the most perfect, and the supremely one.

6. And these things are so certain that their opposites cannot be thought of by one who really understands being itself; and one of them necessarily implies the other. For since it is unqualifiedly being, therefore it is unqualifiedly first; and since it is unqualifiedly first, therefore it has not been made by another, nor could it be made by itself; hence it is eternal. Again, since it is the first and eternal, it is, therefore, not composed of other things, and hence is most simple. And because it is first, eternal, and most simple, it has nothing of possibility mixed with act, and thus it is most actual. Again, because it is first, eternal, most simple, and most actual, it is most perfect; for such a being lacks absolutely nothing, nor can any addition be made to it. And since it is first, eternal, most simple, most actual,[6] and most perfect, therefore it is supremely one. For what is asserted in omnifarious superabundance is asserted in relation to all things. But "that which is asserted by superabundance in an unqualified manner can apply to one thing alone." Hence, if "God" is the name of the being that is first, eternal, most simple, most actual, and most perfect, such a being cannot be thought not to be, nor can it be thought to be other than one. *Hear*, therefore, *O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord.*

If you behold this in the pure simplicity of your mind, you will be somewhat suffused by the illumination of Eternal Light.

7. You have here something to lift you up in admiration. For being itself is both the first and last; it is eternal and yet most present; it is most simple and the greatest; it is most actual and most changeless; it is most perfect and immense; it is supremely one and yet omnifarious. Admiring all these things with a pure mind,[7] you will be flooded with a still greater light when you behold further that pure being is precisely the last because it is the first. For since it is first, it does all things for itself, and thus the first being is of necessity the ultimate end, the beginning and the consummation, the *Alpha* and the *Omega*. Again, it is entirely present precisely because it is eternal. For, as it is eternal, it does not proceed from another, nor does it of itself cease to exist, nor does it progress from one state into another; and therefore it has

decurrit ab uno in aliud, ergo nec habet praeteritum nec futurum, sed *esse* praesens tantum. — Ideo *maximum*, quia simplicissimum. Quia enim simplicissimum in essentia, ideo maximum in virtute, quia virtus, quanto plus est unita, tanto plus est infinita. — Ideo *immutabilissimum*, quia actualissimum. Quia enim actualissimum est, ideo est actus purus; et quod tale est nihil novi acquirit, nihil habitum perdit, ac per hoc non potest mutari. — Ideo *immensum*, quia perfectissimum. Quia enim perfectissimum, nihil potest cogitari ultra ipsum melius, nobilius nec dignius, ac per hoc nihil maius; et omne tale est immensum. — Ideo *omnimodum*, quia summe unum. Quod enim summe unum est, est omnis multitudinis universale principium; ac per hoc ipsum est universalis omnium causa efficiens, exemplans et terminans, sicut "causa essendi, ratio intelligendi et ordo vivendi." Est igitur *omnimodum* non sicut omnium essentia, sed sicut cunctarum essentiarum superexcellentissima et universalissima et sufficientissima causa; cuius virtus, quia summe unita in essentia, ideo summe infinitissima et multiplicissima in efficacia.

8. Rursus revertentes dicamus: quia igitur *esse* purissimum et absolutum, quod est simpliciter *esse*, est *primarium* et *novissimum*, ideo est omnium *origo et finis consummans*. — Quia *aeternum* et *praesentissimum*, ideo omnes durationes ambit et intrat, quasi simul existens earum centrum et circumferentia. — Quia *simplicissimum* et *maximum*, ideo totum intra omnia et totum extra, ac per hoc "est sphaera intelligibilis, cuius centrum est ubique et circumferentia nusquam."[14] — Quia *actualissimum* et *immutabilissimum*, ideo "stabile manens moveri dat universa."[15] — Quia *perfectissimum* et *immensum*, ideo est intra omnia, non inclusum, extra omnia, non exclusum, supra omnia, non elatum, infra omnia, non prostratum. — Quia vero est *summe unum* et *omnimodum*, ideo est *omnia in omnibus*,[16] quamvis omnia sint multa, et ipsum non sit nisi unum; et hoc, quia per simplicissimam *unitatem*, serenissimam *veritatem* et sincerissimam *bonitatem* est in eo omnis *virtuositas*, omnis *exemplaritas* et omnis *communicabilitas;* ac per hoc, *ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia*,[17] et hoc, quia *omnipotens*, *omniscions* et *omnimode bonum*, quod perfecte videre est esse beatum, sicut dictum est Moysi: *Ego ostendam tibi omne bonum*.[18]

14 Alan. ab Insulis, *Theolog. Regul.*, 7.
15 Boeth., III *de Consolat.*, metr. 9.
16 1 *Cor.* 15, 28.
17 *Rom.* 11, 36.
18 *Exod.* 33, 19.

neither past nor future being, but only a present being. And it is greatest because it is most simple. For since it is utterly simple in essence, it is greatest in power, because the more a power is concentrated in one, the more it is infinite. Further, it is most changeless because it is most actual. As most actual, it is, therefore, pure act; and that which is pure actuality can acquire nothing new, nor lose anything that it already has; hence it cannot be changed. Likewise, because it is most perfect, it is immense. As it is most perfect, one can think of nothing better, nobler, of higher dignity beyond it, and consequently, of nothing greater, and every such being is immense. Finally, it is omnifarious because it is supremely one. For that which is supremely one is the all-embracing principle of all multitude. Hence this being is the universal, efficient, exemplary, and final cause of all things, since it is the "cause of being, the basis of understanding, and the norm of orderly conduct." Therefore, pure being is omnifarious, not as though it were the essence of all things, but as the supremely excellent and most universal and sufficient cause of all the essences, whose power is supremely infinite and multiple in its efficiency because it is supremely one in its essence.

8. Once more retracing our steps, let us say that because the most pure and absolute being which is unqualifiedly being is the first and the last, it is therefore the origin and the consummating end of all things. As eternal and most present, it encompasses and enters all duration, existing, as it were, at one and the same time as their center and their circumference. Likewise, because it is the most simple and the greatest, it is wholly within all things and wholly outside them; hence it is "an intelligible sphere, whose center is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere." As most actual and changeless, it is that which, "remaining unmoved itself, gives movement to all things." Further, because it is most perfect and immense, it is within all things without being contained by them, outside all things without being excluded, above all things without being aloof, below all things without being dependent. Finally, since it is supremely one and yet omnifarious, it is *all in all*, even though all things are many and it is itself but one. And this is so because through its supremely simple unity, its most serene truth, and its most sincere goodness, it contains in itself all power, all exemplarity, and all communicability. Hence *from him and through him and unto him are all things*, for He is all-powerful, all-knowing, and all-good. To behold Him perfectly is very bliss, as it was said to Moses: *Therefore I will show thee all good.*

CAP. VI

De speculatione beatissimae Trinitatis in eius nomine, quod est bonum.

1. Post considerationem essentialium elevandus est oculus intelligentiae ad contuitionem beatissimae Trinitatis, ut alter Cherub iuxta alterum statuatur.[1] Sicut autem visionis essentialium ipsum *esse* est principium radicale et nomen, per quod cetera innotescunt, sic contemplationis emanationum ipsum *bonum* est principalissimum fundamentum.

2. Vide igitur et attende, quoniam optimum quod simpliciter est quo nihil melius cogitari potest; et hoc tale sic est, quod non potest recte cogitari non esse, quia omnino melius est esse quam non esse; sic est, quod non potest recte cogitari, quin cogitetur trinum et unum. Nam "bonum dicitur diffusivum sui;"[2] summum igitur bonum summe diffusivum est sui. Summa autem diffusio non potest esse, nisi sit *actualis* et *intrinseca, substantialis* et *hypostatica, naturalis* et *voluntaria, liberalis* et *necessaria, indeficiens* et *perfecta*. Nisi igitur in summo bono aeternaliter esset productio *actualis* et *consubstantialis*, et *hypostasis* aeque nobilis, sicut est producens per modum generationis et spirationis — ita quod sit aeternalis principii aeternaliter comprincipiantis — ita quod esset dilectus et condilectus, genitus et spiratus, hoc est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus; nequaquam esset summum bonum, quia non *summe* se diffunderet. Nam diffusio ex tempore *in creatura* non est nisi centralis vel punctalis respectu immensitatis bonitatis aeternae; unde et potest aliqua diffusio cogitari maior illa, ea videlicet, in qua diffundens communicat alteri totam substantiam et naturam. Non igitur summum bonum esset, si re vel intellectu illa carere posset.

Si igitur potes mentis oculo contueri puritatem bonitatis, quae est actus purus principii caritative diligentis amore *gratuito*

1 *Exod.* 25, 19. 2 Dionys., *de Caelest. Hierarch.*, 4.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE MOST BLESSED TRINITY IN ITS NAME WHICH IS THE *GOOD*

1. Having considered the essential attributes of God, we must raise the eyes of our intelligence to the contuition of the most Blessed Trinity, so as to place the second Cherub opposite the first. Now just as being itself is the principal root of the vision of the essential attributes of God as well as the name through which the others become known, so the good itself is the principal foundation of the contemplation of the emanations.[1]

2. Behold, therefore, and observe that the highest good is unqualifiedly that in comparison with which a greater cannot be thought. And this good is such that it cannot rightly be thought of as non-existing, since to be is absolutely better than not to be. And this good exists in such a way that it cannot rightly be thought of unless it is thought of as triune and one. For good is said to be self-diffusive, and therefore the highest good is most self-diffusive. But such highest diffusion cannot be other than actual and intrinsic, substantial and hypostatic, natural and voluntary, free and necessary, unfailing and perfect. Unless there were in the highest good from all eternity an active and consubstantial production, and a hypostasis of equal nobility, such as is found in producing by way of generation and spiration — and this in such a way that what is of the eternal principle is also eternally of the co-principle — so that there is the loved and the beloved, the generated and the spirated, that is, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that is to say, unless these were present, there would not be found the highest good here, because it would not be supremely self-diffusive. For the diffusion that occurred in time in the creation of the world is no more than a pivot or point in comparison with the immense sweep of the eternal goodness. From this one is led to think of another and a greater diffusion — that in which the diffusing good communicates to another His whole substance and nature. Nor would He be the highest good were He able to be wanting in this, either in reality or even in thought.

When, therefore, you are able to behold with the eyes of your mind the purity of that goodness which is the pure act of the Principle, in charity loving with a love both free and due and a

et *debito* et ex *utroque permixto*, quae est diffusio plenissima per modum *naturae* et *voluntatis*, quae est diffusio per modum *Verbi*, in quo omnia dicuntur, et per modum *Doni*, in quo cetera dona donantur; potes videre, per summam boni communicabilitatem necesse esse Trinitatem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. In quibus necesse est propter summam bonitatem esse summam *communicabilitatem*, et ex summa communicabilitate summam *consubstantialitatem*, et ex summa consubstantialitate summam *configurabilitatem*, et ex his summam *coaequalitatem*, ac per hoc summam *coaeternitatem*, atque ex omnibus praedictis summam *cointimitatem*, qua unus est in altero necessario per summam circumincessionem et unus operatur cum alio per omnimodam indivisionem *substantiae* et *virtutis* et *operationis* ipsius beatissimae Trinitatis.

3. Sed cum haec contemplaris, vide, ne te existimes comprehendere incomprehensibilem. Habes enim adhuc in his sex conditionibus considerare quod vehementer in stuporem admirationis inducit oculum mentis nostrae. Nam ibi est summa *communicabilitas* cum personarum proprietate, summa *consubstantialitas* cum hypostasum pluralitate, summa *configurabilitas* cum discreta personalitate, summa *coaequalitas* cum ordine, summa *coaeternitas* cum emanatione, summa *cointimitas* cum emissione. Quis ad tantorum mirabilium aspectum non consurgat in admirationem? — Sed haec omnia certissime intelligimus esse in beatissima Trinitate si levamus oculos ad superexcellentissimam *bonitatem*. Si enim ibi est summa *communicatio* et vera diffusio, vera est ibi origo et vera distinctio; et quia totum communicatur, non pars, ideo ipsum datur, quod habetur, et totum: igitur emanans et producens et distinguuntur proprietatibus, et sunt essentialiter unum. Quia igitur *distinguuntur* proprietatibus, ideo habent personales proprietates et hypostasum pluralitatem et originis emanationem et ordinem non posterioritatis, sed originis, et emissionem non localis mutationis, sed gratuitae inspirationis, per rationem auctoritatis producentis, quam habet mittens respectu missi. — Quia vero sunt *unum* substantialiter, ideo oportet, quod sit unitas in essentia et forma dignitate et aeternitate et existentia et incircumscriptibilitate. — Dum ergo haec per se *singillatim consideras*, habes unde *veritatem* contempleris; dum haec *ad invicem confers*, habes unde in *admirationem* altissimam suspendaris: et ideo, ut mens tua per admirationem in admirabilem ascendat contemplationem, haec simul sunt consideranda.

mixture of both, a love which is the fullest diffusion by way of nature and will, which is also a diffusion by way of the Word, in which all things are said, and by way of the Gift, in which all other gifts are given, — if you can do this, then you can see that through the utmost communicability of the Good, there must be the Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.[2] By reason of Their supreme goodness,[3] the three Persons must necessarily have supreme communicability; by reason of that, supreme consubstantiality; and by reason of supreme consubstantiality, They must have supreme conformability. Then by reason of all these, They must have supreme coequality, and hence supreme coeternity. Finally, from all the foregoing taken together, They must have supreme mutual intimacy, by which one Person is necessarily in the other by reason of Their supreme interpenetration, and one acts with the other in absolute indivision of the substance, power, and activity of the Most Blessed Trinity Itself.

3. But when you contemplate these things, take care that you do not believe you can understand the incomprehensible. For you have still something else to consider in these six characteristics, which forcibly strike the eyes of our mind with awesome admiration. For here we have supreme communicability side by side with a character proper to each Person, supreme consubstantiality side by side with a plurality of hypostases, supreme conformability side by side with distinct Personality, supreme coequality side by side with order, supreme coeternity side by side with emanation, and supreme mutual intimacy side by side with the out-sending of Persons. Who would not be lifted up in admiration at the sight of such great wonders? But we know with absolute certainty that all these things are in the most blessed Trinity, when we but raise our eyes to the all-excelling Goodness. If, therefore, there is supreme communication and true diffusion, then true origin and true distinction are likewise present. And, since the whole is communicated and not a part merely, then whatever is possessed is given, and given completely. As a result, He who proceeds and He who produces are distinguished by their properties and yet are one and the same in essence. Since, then, they are distinguished by their properties, it follows that they have personal properties and plurality of hypostases, and emanation from their origin, and order, not of posteriority but of origin, and out-sending, consisting not in local change but in freely given inspiration by the authority which the Sender, being the Producer, has over the One Sent. Moreover, since they are really one in substance, they must possess oneness of essence, of form, of dignity, of eternity, of existence, and of uncircumscribability.

4. Nam et Cherubim hoc designant, quae se mutuo aspiciebant. Nec hoc vacat a mysterio, quod respiciebant *se versis vultibus in propitiatorium*,[3] ut verificetur illud quod dicit Dominus in Ioanne: *Haec est vita aeterna, ut cognoscat te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Iesum Christum*.[4] Nam admirari debemus non solum conditiones Dei essentiales et personales *in se*, verum etiam *per comparationem* ad supermirabilem unionem Dei et hominis in unitate personae Christi.

5. Si enim Cherub es *essentialia* Dei contemplando, et miraris, quia simul est divinum *esse primum* et novissimum, *aeternum* et praesentissimum, *simplicissimum* et maximum seu incircumscriptum, *totum ubique* et nunquam comprehensum, *actualissimum* et numquam motum, *perfectissimum* et nihil habens superfluum nec diminutum, et tamen immensum et sine termino infinitum, *summe unum*, et tamen omnimodum, ut omnia in se habens, ut omnis virtus, omnis veritas, omne bonum; respice ad *propitiatorium* et mirare, quod in ipso principium primum iunctum est cum postremo, *Deus* cum homine sexto die formato,[5] *aeternum* iunctum est cum homine temporali, in plenitudine temporum de Virgine nato, *simplicissimum* cum summe composito, *actualissimum* cum summe passo et mortuo, *perfectissimum* et immensum cum modico, *summe unum* et *omnimodum* cum individuo composito et a ceteris distincto, homine scilicet Iesu Christo.

6. Si autem alter Cherub es *personarum propria* contemplando, et miraris, *communicabilitatem* esse cum proprietate, *consubstantialitatem* cum pluralitate, *configurabilitatem* cum personalitate, *coaequalitatem* cum ordine, *coaeternitatem* cum productione, *cointimitatem* cum emissione, quia Filius missus est a Patre, et Spiritus sanctus ab utroque, qui tamen semper est cum eis et nunquam recedit ab eis; respice in propitiatorium et mirare, quia

3 *Exod.* 25, 20.
4 Ioan. 17, 3.
5 *Gen.* 1, 26.

And while you consider these things, one by one, you have the subject matter that will enable you to contemplate Truth; when you compare them with one another, you have the subject matter that lifts you to the utmost heights of admiration. Therefore, that your mind may rise, through admiration, to admiring contemplation, you must consider all these attributes together.

4. For the Cherubim who faced each other symbolize this. Mystery is not lacking in the fact that they faced each other, *their faces being turned toward the Mercy-Seat,* that thus might be verified what Our Lord says in the Gospel of St. John: *Now this is eternal life, that they may know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ.* For we must admire the characteristics of the divine essence and of the divine Persons, not only in themselves, but also in comparison with the most marvelous union of God and man in the unity of the Person of Christ.

5. If you are that one of the Cherubim that contemplates the essential attributes of God and if you are amazed at the fact that the divine Being is both first and last, eternal and most present, most simple and greatest or uncircumscribed, wholly everywhere and nowhere contained, most actual and never moved, most perfect and without any superfluity or deficiency, and yet immense and boundlessly infinite, supremely one and yet supremely omnifarious, containing in Himself all things — all power, all truth, all goodness — if, then, you are this Cherub, face toward the Mercy-Seat and be amazed. For in Him, the first Principle is joined with the last. God is joined with man, who was formed, on the sixth day; the eternal is joined with time-bound man, born of the Virgin in the fullness of time; the most simple is joined with the most composite; the most actual is joined with Him Who suffered supremely and died; the most perfect and immense is joined with the insignificant; He who is both supremely one and supremely omnifarious is joined to an individual that is composite and distinct from others, that is to say, to the man Jesus Christ.

6. And if you are the other of the Cherubim and contemplate that which is proper to the Persons, and if you are amazed that communicability coexists with personal propriety, consubstantiality with plurality, conformability with personality, coequality with order, coeternity with production, and mutual intimacy with out-sending — for the Son is sent by the Father, and the Holy Spirit by both the Father and the Son, and yet the one sent ever remains with them and never departs from them — if you are this Cherub, face toward the Mercy-Seat and be amazed that in Christ a personal unity coexists with a trinity of sub-

in Christo stat *personalis unio* cum trinitate substantiarum et naturarum dualitate; stat *omnimoda consensio* cum pluralitate voluntatum, stat Dei et hominis *compraedicatio* cum pluralitate proprietatum, stat *coadoratio* cum pluralitate nobilitatum, stat *coexaltatio* super omnia cum pluralitate dignitatum, stat *condominatio* cum pluralitate potestatum.

7. In hac autem consideratione est perfectio illuminationis mentis, dum quasi in sexta die videt hominem factum ad imaginem Dei.[6] Si enim *imago* est similitudo expressiva, dum mens nostra contemplatur in Christo Filio Dei, qui est imago Dei invisibilis per naturam, humanitatem nostram tam mirabiliter exaltatam, tam ineffabiliter unitam, videndo simul in unum primum et ultimum, summum et imum, circumferentiam et centrum, *alpha et omega*,[7] causatum et causam, Creatorem et creaturam, *librum* scilicet *scriptum intus et extra;* iam pervenit ad quandam rem perfectam, ut cum Deo ad perfectionem suarum illuminationum in sexto gradu quasi in sexta die perveniat, nec aliquid iam amplius restet nisi dies requiei, in qua per mentis excessum requiescat humanae mentis perspicacitas *ab omni opere, quod patrarat.*[8]

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6 *Gen.* 1, 26.
7 *Apoc.* 1, 8; *ibid.* 5, 1; Ezech. 2, 9.
8 *Gen.* 2, 2.

stances and a duality of natures; that an entire accord coexists with a plurality of wills; that a mutual predication of God and man coexists with a plurality of proper attributes; that co-adoration coexists with a differentiation of eminence; that co-exaltation over all things coexists with a differentiation of dignities; and finally that co-domination co-exists with a plurality of powers.

7. In this contemplation consists the perfect illumination of the mind, when, as it were, on the sixth day it sees man made to the image of God. For if an image is an expressed likeness, then when our mind contemplates in Christ the Son of God, Who is by nature the image of the invisible God,[4] our humanity so wonderfully exalted, so ineffably united, and when at the same time it sees united the first and the last, the highest and the lowest, the circumference and the center, the *Alpha* and the *Omega*, the caused and the cause, the Creator and the creature, that is, *the book written within and without*, it has already reached something perfect. Now it arrives at the perfection of its illuminations on the sixth step, as with God on the sixth day. And now nothing further remains but the day of rest on which through transports of mind the penetrating power of the human mind *rests from all the work that it has done.*

CAP. VII

De excessu mentali et mystico, in quo requies datur intellectui, affectu totaliter in Deum per excessum transeunte.

1. His igitur sex considerationibus excursis tanquam *sex gradibus throni veri* Salomonis, quibus pervenitur ad pacem, ubi verus pacificus in mente pacifica tanquam in interiori Hierosolyma requiescit; tanquam etiam *sex alis Cherub,* quibus mens veri contemplativi plena illustratione supernae sapientiae valeat sursum agi; tanquam etiam *sex diebus primis,* in quibus mens exercitari habet, ut tandem perveniat ad sabbatum quietis; postquam mens nostra contuita est Deum *extra se* per vestigia et in vestigiis, *intra se* per imaginem et in imagine, *supra se* per divinae lucis similitudinem super nos relucentem et in ipsa luce, secundum quod possibile est secundum statum viae et exercitium mentis nostrae; cum tandem in *sexto* gradu ad hoc pervenerit, ut speculetur in principio primo et summo et mediatore *Dei et hominum,* Iesu Christo,[1] ea quorum similia in creaturis nullatenus reperiri possunt, et quae omnem perspicacitatem humani intellectus excedunt: restat, ut haec speculando transcendat et transeat non solum mundum istum sensibilem, verum etiam semetipsam; in quo transitu Christus est *via* et *ostium,*[2] Christus est *scala* et *vehiculum* tanquam *propitiatorium super arcam Dei collocatum* et *sacramentum a saeculis absconditum.*[3]

2. Ad quod propitiatorium qui aspicit plena conversione vultus, aspiciendo eum in cruce suspensum per fidem, spem et caritatem, devotionem, admirationem, exsultationem, appretiationem, laudem et iubilationem; *pascha,* hoc est transitum, cum eo facit, ut per virgam crucis transeat mare rubrum,[4] ab Aegypto intrans desertum, ubi gustet *manna absconditum,*[5] et

1 1 *Tim.* 2, 5.
2 Ioan. 14, 6 et 10, 7.
3 *Exod.* 25, 20; *Eph.* 3, 9.
4 *Exod.* 12, 11.
5 *Apoc.* 2, 17.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MYSTICAL TRANSPORT OF THE MIND IN WHICH REST IS GIVEN TO OUR UNDERSTANDING AND OUR AFFECTION PASSES OVER ENTIRELY TO GOD

1. Accordingly, the mind has reached the end of the way of six contemplations. They are like six steps by which it arrives at peace as at the throne of the true Solomon, where the Man of Peace rests in the peaceful mind as in an inner Jerusalem. They are also like the six wings of the Cherubim, by which the mind of the true contemplative, overflooded by the light of heavenly wisdom,[1] is enabled to soar on high. They are like the first six days, during which the mind must be trained so that it may finally reach the Sabbath of rest.

After our mind has beheld God outside itself through and in vestiges of Him, within itself through and in His image, and above itself through the divine similitudes shining upon us, and in the divine Light itself in so far as it is possible in our state as wayfarer and by the exercise of our minds, and when at length the mind has reached the sixth step, where it can behold in the first and highest Principle and in the Mediator of God and men, Jesus Christ, things the like of which cannot possibly be found among creatures, and which transcend all acuteness of the human intellect — when the mind has done all this, it must still, in beholding these things, transcend and pass over, not only this visible world, but even itself. In this passing over, Christ is the way and the door; Christ is the ladder and the vehicle, being, as it were, the Mercy-Seat above the Ark of God and *the mystery which has been hidden from eternity.*[2]

2. He who turns his full countenance toward this Mercy-Seat and with faith, hope, and love, devotion, admiration, joy, appreciation, praise and rejoicing, beholds Christ hanging on the Cross, such a one celebrates the Pasch, that is, the Passover, with Him. Thus, using the rod of the Cross, he may pass over the Red Sea, going from Egypt into the desert, where it is given to him to taste the *hidden manna;* he may rest with Christ in the tomb, as one dead to the outer world, but experiencing, nevertheless, as far as is possible in this present state as wayfarer, what was said on the Cross to the thief who was hanging there with Christ: *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.*

cum Christo requiescat in tumulo quasi exterius mortuus, sentiens tamen, quantum possibile est secundum statum viae, quod in cruce dictum est latroni cohaerenti Christo: *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*[6]

3. Quod etiam ostensum est beato Francisco, cum in excessu contemplationis in monte excelso — ubi haec, quae scripta sunt, mente tractavi — apparuit Seraph sex alarum in cruce confixus, ut ibidem a socio eius, qui tunc cum eo fuit, ego et plures alii audivimus; ubi in Deum transiit per contemplationis excessum; et positus est in exemplum perfectae *contemplationis;* sicut prius fuerat *actionis,* tanquam alter *Iacob* et *Israel,*[7] ut omnes viros vere spirituales Deus per eum invitaret ad huiusmodi transitum et mentis excessum magis exemplo quam verbo.

4. In hoc autem transitu, si sit perfectus, oportet quod relinquantur omnes intellectuales operationes, et apex affectus totus transferatur et transformetur in Deum. Hoc autem est mysticum et secretissimum, quod *nemo novit, nisi qui accipit,*[8] nec accipit nisi qui desiderat, nec desiderat nisi quem ignis Spiritus sancti medullitus inflammat, quem Christus misit in terram.[9] Et ideo dicit Apostolus,[10] hanc mysticam sapientiam esse per Spiritum sanctum revelatam.

5. Quoniam igitur ad hoc nihil potest natura, modicum potest industria, parum est dandum inquisitioni, et multum unctioni; parum dandum est linguae, et plurimum internae laetitiae; parum dandum est verbo et scripto, et totum Dei dono, scilicet Spiritui sancto; parum aut nihil dandum est creaturae, et totum creatrici essentiae, Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, dicendo cum Dionysio[11] ad Deum Trinitatem: "Trinitas superessentialis et superdeus et superoptime Christianorum inspector theosophiae, dirige nos in mysticorum eloquiorum superincognitum et superlucentem et sublimissimum verticem; ubi nova et absoluta et inconversibilia theologiae mysteria secundum superlucentem absconduntur occulte docentis silentii caliginem in obscurissimo, quod est supermanifestissimum, supersplendentem, et in qua omne relucet, et invisibilium superbonorum splendoribus superimplentem invisibiles intellectus." Hoc ad Deum. Ad amicum autem, cui haec scribuntur,

6 Luc. 23, 43.
7 *Gen.* 35, 10.
8 *Apoc.* 2, 17.
9 Luc. 12, 49.
10 1 *Cor.* 2, 10, *seqq.*
11 Dionys., *de Mystica Theolog.*, 1, 1.

3. This also was shown to the Blessed Francis, when, in a transport of contemplation on the mountain height — where I pondered over the matter that is here written — there appeared to him the six-winged Seraph fastened to a cross, as I and many others have heard from the companion who was then with him at that very place. Here he passed over into God in a transport of contemplation. He is set forth as an example of perfect contemplation, just as previously he had been of action, like a second Jacob-Israel. And thus, through him, more by example than by word, God would invite all truly spiritual men to this passing over and this transport of soul.

4. In this passing over, if it is to be perfect, all intellectual activities ought to be relinguished[3] and the most profound affection transported to God, and transformed into Him. This, however, is mystical and most secret, *which no one knows except him who receives it*, no one receives except him who desires it, and no one desires except him who is penetrated to the marrow by the fire of the Holy Spirit, Whom Christ sent into the world. That is why the Apostle says that this mystical wisdom is revealed by the Holy Spirit.[4]

5. And since, therefore, nature avails naught and human endeavor but little, little should be attributed to inquiry, but much to unction; little to the tongue, but very much to interior joy; little to the spoken or written word, but everything to the Gift of God, that is, to the Holy Spirit. Little or nothing should be attributed to the creature, but everything to the creative essence — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And thus, with Dionysius, we address the Triune God: "O Trinity, Essence above all essence, and Deity above all deity, supremely best Guardian of the divine wisdom of Christians, direct us to the supremely unknown, superluminous, and most sublime height of mystical knowledge. There new mysteries — absolute and changeless mysteries of theology — are shrouded in the superluminous darkness of a silence, teaching secretly in the utmost obscurity that is manifest above all manifestation; of a darkness that is resplendent above all splendor,[5] and in which everything shines forth; of a darkness which fills invisible intellects full above all plenitude with the splendors of invisible good things that are above all good."

So much let us say to God. To the friend, however, for whom these words were written, we can say with Dionysius: "And you,

dicatur cum eodem: "Tu autem, o amice, circa mysticas visiones, corroboratio itinere, et sensus desere et intellectuales operationes et sensibilia et invisibilia et omne non ens et ens, et ad unitatem, ut possibile est, inscius restituere ipsius, qui est super omnem essentiam et scientiam. Etenim te ipso et omnibus immensurabili et absoluto purae mentis excessu, ad superessentialem divinarum tenebrarum radium, omnia deserens et ab omnibus absolutus, ascendes."

6. Si autem quaeras, quomodo haec fiant, interroga gratiam, non doctrinam; desiderium, non intellectum; gemitum orationis, non studium lectionis; sponsum, non magistrum; Deum, non hominem; caliginem, non claritatem; non lucem, sed ignem totaliter inflammantem et in Deum excessivis unctionibus et ardentissimis affectionibus transferentem. Qui quidem *ignis* Deus est, et huius *caminus est in Ierusalem*,[12] et Christus hunc accendit in fervore suae ardentissimae passionis, quem solus ille vere percipit, qui dicit: *Suspendium elegit anima mea, et mortem ossa mea.*[13] Quam mortem qui diligit videre potest Deum, quia indubitanter verum est: *Non videbit me homo et vivet.*[14] — Moriamur igitur et ingrediamur in caliginem, imponamus silentium sollicitudinibus, concupiscentiis et phantasmatibus; transeamus cum Christo crucifixo *ex hoc mundo ad Patrem*, ut, ostenso nobis Patre, dicamus cum Philippo: *Sufficit nobis;* audiamus cum Paulo: *Sufficit tibi gratia mea;*[15] exsultemus cum David dicentes: *Defecit caro mea et cor meum, Deus cordis mei et pars mea Deus in aeternum. Benedictus Dominus in aeternum, et dicet omnis populus: Fiat, fiat. Amen.*[16]

EXPLICIT ITINERARIUM MENTIS IN DEUM

12 Isai. 31, 9.
13 Iob 7, 15.
14 *Exod.* 33, 20.
15 Ioan. 13, 1; *ibid.* 14, 8; II *Cor.* 12, 9.
16 *Ps.* 72, 26; *Ps.* 105, 48.

my friend, in this matter of mystical visions, redouble your efforts, abandon the senses, intellectual activities, visible and invisible things — everything that is not and that is — and, oblivious of yourself, let yourself be brought back, in so far as it is possible, to unity with Him Who is above all essence and all knowledge. And transcending yourself and all things, ascend to the super-essential gleam of the divine darkness by an incommensurable and absolute transport of a pure mind."

6. If you wish to know how these things may come about, ask grace, not learning; desire, not the understanding; the groaning of prayer, not diligence in reading; the Bridegroom, not the teacher; God, not man; darkness, not clarity; not light, but the fire that wholly inflames and carries one into God through transporting unctions and consuming affections. God Himself is this fire, and *His furnace is in Jerusalem;* and it is Christ who enkindles it in the white flame of His most burning Passion. This fire he alone truly perceives who says: *My soul chooseth hanging, and my bones, death.* He who loves this death can see God, for it is absolutely true that *Man shall not see me and live.*

Let us, then, die and enter into this darkness. Let us silence all our care, our desires, and our imaginings. With Christ crucified, let us pass *out of this world to the Father,* so that, when the Father is shown to us, we may say with Philip: *It is enough for us.* Let us hear with Paul: *My grace is sufficient for thee,* and rejoice with David, saying: *My flesh and my heart have fainted away: thou art the God of my heart, and the God that is my portion forever. Blessed be the Lord forever, and let all the people say: so be it, so be it.* Amen.

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

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PROLOGUE

TITLE: *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, The Itinerary of the Mind into God. For an understanding of the full significance of this somewhat unusual title, the following annotations may be helpful.

Itinerarium, itinerary. By definition, it means that which pertains to a journey in general; a plan for, or a description of, a journey; in ecclesiastical terminology either a prayer for a safe journey, or a pilgrimage to, or a description of a pilgrimage to, the Holy Land. It would seem that Saint Bonaventure intends to include all these meanings, for they are all more or less descriptive of the treatise.

Mens, mind. In its general meaning, the word designates the soul in its three powers—*memoria, intelligentia, voluntas*—which make it an image of God. Cf. II *Sent.*, 25, 1, u. 2 (II, 596). Cf. also four meanings of the word *mens* in I *Sent.*, 3, 2, 2, 1 (I, 89): "Dicitur enim uno modo a mene, quod est luna sive defectus; et sic dicitur de tota animae substantia propter transmutationes, quas habet. Secundo modo dicitur a metiendo; et sic stat pro iudicativa vi . . . Tertio modo dicitur ab eminendo; et sic stat pro superiori parte rationis . . . Quarto modo dicitur a meminisse; et sic stat pro memoria et quantum ad actum et quantum ad habitum." Saint Bonaventure obviously uses *mens* here in the third sense, that is, the superior reason as opposed to the inferior. This is an important distinction introduced by Saint Augustine (e. g., *De Trinitate*, 1, 2;—PL 42, 997 ff.). The inferior reason yields knowledge, the superior reason, wisdom. Saint Bonaventure explains these two *officia* of the same *ratio* as follows: "Dum enim ratio nostra ad superiora convertitur, purgatur, et illuminatur et perficitur, dum leges aeternas conspicit et immutabilitatem divinae virtutis et aequitatis in bono fortificatur et invigoratur; dum autem ad haec inferiora convertitur, utpote ad sensibilitatem et carnem, quodammodo trahitur et emollitur. Et ideo sunt eiusdem naturae ratio superior et inferior, differentes secundum fortitudinis et debilitatis dispositionem . . ." II *Sent.*, 24, 1, 2, 2 (II, 564).

In Deum, into God. The preposition is significant. Saint Bonaventure does not say *ad Deum* (although in the Prologue he writes "ad quem nemo intratur"), since the purpose of the *Itinerarium* is not merely to lead us up to God, nor only to touch or reach Him with the intellect, but actually to enter into Him in the highest affection of love in mystical union.

1 *In principio . . . primum principium*, In the beginning . . . the first beginning. The "first beginning" is, of course, the first principle, or God. In order to make more evident the full meaning of this sentence, however, the phrase has been translated literally. Apparently Saint Bonaventure has in mind the opening words of Genesis (1, 1) and of the Gospel of Saint John (1,1). Elsewhere he writes: "Manifestum est etiam, quod ab illo incipiendum, a quo duo maximi sapientes inceperunt, scilicet Moyses, inchoatur sapientiae Dei, et Iohannes, terminator. Alter dixit: In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram, id est in Filio,

secundum Augustinum; et Ioannes: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum." *In Hexaem.*, I, 10 (V, 330). To begin with the *principium*, or rather, the *primum principium*, and to come down to other truths is the characteristic method of Saint Bonaventure. It could aptly be called a theology from above.

2 *A patre luminum*, from the Father of lights. The corresponding text of the Epistle of Saint James (1, 17) expresses one of the central ideas in Bonaventurian philosophy and theology. It occurs in *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, 1 (V, 319); in the *Breviloquium*, Prol. 1, 2 (V, 201); in the *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, III, 19 (V, 346), and elsewhere. The Father of lights is the beginning of all things — of being, of spiritual light, and of goodness.

3 *Pax*, peace. The word has various meanings. In general, it means right order. Here it has the mystical meaning of the soul's rest in God, as Saint Bonaventure himself indicates when he speaks of ecstatic peace as the ultimate goal of the *Itinerarium*.

4 For Saint Francis' annunciation of peace, cf. Celano, *Vita Prima*, I, 10, ed. Quar., pp. 26—29, and Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda*, III, 2 (VIII, 510).

5 Since Saint Francis died on October 4, 1226, the *Itinerarium* was written or at least conceived on Mount Alverno in the September or October of 1259.

6 *Suspensio*, uplifting. This term in its context has a mystical meaning. It not only signifies an elevation of the mind, but also and especially here, that elevation by which Christ was uplifted on the Cross, and Saint Francis and the mystics in general, in the mystical crucifixion. The scriptural text: *Suspendium elegit anima mea*, My soul chooseth hanging, has certainly influenced Saint Bonaventure's terminology. Hence *suspensio* should also be understood as connoting in various degrees the hanging on the cross, or at least the uplifting that leads to this hanging, which is mystical crucifixion in the mystical death or *transitus*.

7 *Transitus*, passing. Saint Bonaventure uses this word in many meanings, or rather, implies all its many connotations: *pascha* or passover, the passing of the Hebrews through the Red Sea, the death of Christ, the death of Saint Francis — all these meanings are contained in the broader signification of the mystical death and mystical passing over into God.

8 The stigmatization of Saint Francis is not only the inspiration of the *Itinerarium*, but also the model of the mystical union itself. Cf. *Itinerarium*, VII, 3, where this is expressly stated. According to Saint Bonaventure, the mystical union is a falling asleep with Christ on the Cross. For this reason, the stigmatization typifies Franciscan mysticism.

9 *Mentalis excessus*, spiritual transport. This is simply another term for the mystical union; perhaps an attempt at close translation of the Greek *exstasis*.

10 *Desiderium*, desire. Here the word has a mystical meaning derived from Daniel (23) who is called the "man of desire." Cf. *Itinerarium*, VII,4. According to Saint Bonaventure, no one can reach contemplation without a deep desire for it: "Non est anima contemplativa sine desiderio vivaci. Qui hoc non habet, nihil de contemplatione habet." *In Hexaem.*, XXII, 29 (V, 441). No special calling is required for the contemplative life; it should be the normal culmination of every truly Christian life and consequently should be desired by every just

man. "Hunc modum cognoscendi arbitror cuilibet viro justo in vita ista esse quaerendum." II *Sent.*, 33, 2, 3 (II, 546). The same thought is expressed even more strikingly: "Modo non debetis desperare vos simplices quando audistis ista, quia simplex non potest ista habere, sed poteritis postea habere." *Sermo I de Sabbato Sancto* (IX, 269). This desire, however, must always remain strong and must not be allowed to weaken: "Post contemplationis exordium subiungit contemplationis progressum; in quo duo potissime requiruntur, scilicet excedens gaudium de dono concesso et excedens desiderium de continuando . . ." *Comment. in Evang. Lucae*, 9, 60, Vers. 33 (VII, 235). For the importance of desire in Franciscan theology and its relation to the virtue of hope, cf. Longpré, *Diction. de Spirit.*, col. 1815 ff.

11 *Oratio*, prayer. For an excellent treatment of prayer in Saint Bonaventure's mystical doctrine, cf. F. Imle, *Das geistliche Leben nach der Lehre des hl. Bonaventura*, Werl, 1939, especially pp. 440 ff. Saint Bonaventure himself presents a concise and wholly admirable theology of prayer in his paraphrase of the *Pater noster* in the *Breviloquium*, V, 10 (V, 263 ff.). Cf. also the Introduction, pp. 20—24.

12 *Speculatio*, speculation. The activities described in the six chapters of the *Itinerarium* are *speculationes*. In this sense *speculatio* is an intellectual activity of the higher reason beholding in various objects their relation to God. It is a kind of contemplation which in the Prophets was realized through revelation, but "in just men, through speculation which begins with the senses . . . and leads up to wisdom or *notitia excessiva*." *Brevil.*, V, 6 (V, 260). The terms *consideratio* and *contemplatio* are practically synonymous with *speculatio* when occurring in the *Itinerarium*. Thus speculation is not merely an intellectual activity, but an intellectual activity of a contemplative soul, and only as such is it a means of enkindling desire for union with God.

Speculatio can also have the purely intellectual, non-religious meaning of the Greek *theoria*, speculative science as opposed to practical science. In this sense it is equivalent to *curiositas:* "Curiosus autem devotionem non habet. Unde multi sunt tales, qui vacui sunt laude et devotione, etsi habeant splendores scientiarum. Faciunt enim casas vesparum, quae non habent favum mellis, sicut apes, quae mellificant." *In Hexaem* I, 8 (V, 330). Saint Bonaventure lists nine opposing tendencies which cause tension between the intellectual and the spiritual life. The relaxing of these tensions into harmonious fusion is a necessary requirement for a successful following of the doctrine of the *Itinerarium*.

It is difficult and perhaps futile to attempt to assign definite meanings to the various terms. A few suggestions, however, may be helpful.

Lectio: Spiritual reading and meditation in the modern sense, but also the *lectio* of the theologian and philosopher. In this sense, perhaps the sense intended here, it would mean the teaching of philosophy or theology, which should not be without *unctio* or divine love. Cf. *amor vel unctio, In Hexaem.* XXII, 21 (V, 440); cf. also *In Evang. Lucae*, 12, vers. 12, 20 (VII, 316): "Unde Bernardus: 'Bona est lectio, sed melior est unctio, quae docet de omnibus.' Nam unctio docet dilectionem Dei et proximi."

Speculatio: here apparently in the sense of *theoria*, pure intellectual activity.

Devotio: closely connected with *unctio;* it implies a more active attitude, however, a surrender in love.

Investigatio: research, a delving into the depths of learning.

Admiratio: cf. note 13.

Circumspectio: research, pertaining to breadth of learning.

Exultatio: closely related to *admiratio.*

Industria: here in the sense of the untiring activity of the natural faculties; for its mystical meaning in connection with the hierarchization of the soul, cf. *In Hexaem.*, XXII, 24—28 (V, 413—314).

Pietas: defined by Saint Bonaventure as follows: "Pietas nihil aliud est quam piae, primae et summae originis pius sensus, pius affectus et pius famulatus." *De donis S. S.*, III, 5 (V, 469). Its acts are "reverentia, venerationis divinae, in custodia sanctificationis intrinsecae, et in superaffluentia miserationis internae." *Loc. cit.*, 3.

Scientia: here used in the sense of scientific knowledge. Its opposition to *charitas* is borrowed from Saint Paul (I Cor. 8, 1). "Scientia inflat, sed caritas aedificat; ideo oportet iungere cum scientia caritatem." *De Donis S. S.*, IV, 24 (V, 478).

Intelligentia: as insight into the mysteries of the natural and supernatural world it must be joined with humility.

Studium: all the preceding activities considered together, or human endeavor as such, which must be complemented by divine grace.

Speculum: mirror, that is, the soul. Cf. *Brevil.*, Prol. 3 (V, 202). "Similiter in anima sunt virtutes inferiores tamquam tenentes lumen, ne defluat; mediae sunt politiones; supremae sunt sicut splendores supervenientes; et sic est anima speculum." *In Hexaem.*, V, 25 (V, 358). This mirror or reflecting power of the soul is of no avail unless it be illumined by divine wisdom.

13 *Magnificandum . . . admirandum . . . degustandum*, glorifying . . . admiring . . . savoring . . . The first step of the *Itinerarium* leads only to praise or glorify God (cf. 1, 15). To admire God is more; it is the step that leads to mystical peace. To savor God means actually to experience the deep joy of the mystical union. This, of course, is the ultimate goal of the *Itinerarium*, described in Chapter VII.

The term *"admiratio,"* because of its importance and frequent occurrence in the *Itinerarium*, may need further explanation. As used by Saint Bonaventure, *"admiratio"* seems to have some relation to the Aristotelean Θαυμάζειν, which is the starting point of that wisdom which is mystical peace or mystical union. He explains: ". . . est et quaedam dubitatio proveniens ex admirationis immensitate, qua dicitur homo dubitare, cum exstupescit et quasi fit totus extra se ex intuitu rei admirabilis . . ." III *Sent.* 3, 1, 2, 3, ad 2 (III, 78). "Si autem [timor] est respectu ardui sive magni aut est magnum, in quod non possumus cognoscendo et operando propter defectum cognitionis; tunc est admiratio, de qua dicit Damascenus (II *De fide orth.*, 15), quod 'admiratio est timor in magno imaginatione phantasiae.'" III *Sent.*, 34,2, dub. 3 (III, 770). In any case, *"admiratio"* is something of both the intellect and the affections: "Unde verum est, quod ipsius animae rationalis et affectus et intellectus feruntur in infinitum bonum et verum et ut infinitum; sed ferri in illud hoc potest esse sex modis, scilicet credendo, arguendo, admirando, contuendo, excedendo et comprehendendo . . ." *De sc. Christi*, VI (V, 35). Hence *admiratio* follows after simple faith and theology as science and, as Saint Bonaventure expressly states, belongs not only to our state here upon earth, but will continue *in patria*. Its function in preparing the soul for mystical union is described by Saint Bonaventure in his *De perfectione vitae ad Sorores*, 5,8 (VIII, 119): "Item, aliquando tot prae magnitudine admirationis, 'quando divino lumine mens irradiata et summae pulchritudinis admiratione suspensa, tam vehementi stupore concutitur, ut a suo statu funditur excutiatur et in modum fulguris coruscantis, quanto profundius per

despectum sui invisae pulchritudinis respectu in ima deiicitur, tanto sublimius tantoque celerius per summorum desideriorum ardorem relevata et super semetipsum rapta, in sublimia elevatur (Rich. S. Victore, *Beniamin maior*, 5).' Et tunc cogitur exclamare cum illa sanctissima Esther: 'Vide te, domine, quasi angelum Dei, et conturbatum est cor meum prae timore gloriae tuae. Valde enim mirabilis es, domine, et facies tua plena est gratiarum.'" *Esther* 15, 16.

Saint Bonaventure also defines *admiratio* in the Aristotelian sense: "Nam apparitio miraculi parit admirationem, admiratio cognitionem sive inquisitionem." *In Lucam*, 1, 115, vers. 63 (VIII, 37).

14 *Speculum exterius propositum*, the mirror of the external world put before them. The external world is a mirror which reflects God's power, wisdom, and goodness. Cf. *In Hexaem.*, II, 27 (V, 340): "Et sic patet, quod totus mundus est sicut unum speculum plenum luminibus praesentantibus divinam sapientiam, et sicut carbo effudens lucem."

CHAPTER ONE

SUBTITLE: *Incipit speculatio pauperis in deserto*, Here begins the speculation of the poor man in the desert. The distinctly Franciscan flavor as well as the mystical connotation of the subtitle should be noted. The "poor man" is not the Franciscan vowed to poverty but especially the man in need of union with God, the beggar in the spirit who finds himself in the desert far from his Father and from his eternal home. The term "desert" occurs again in VII, 2, but in the opposite meaning—a desert where the hidden manna, that is, the mystical union, is found and tasted.

1 Attention should be called to the fact, as Gilson has noted (*Les idées et les lettres*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1932), that the *Itinerarium* is cast in the form of a medieval sermon, at least the first part of Chapter I. It opens with the *Prothema: Beatus vir . . .*, the function of which is to exhort to prayer and to lead to the main *thema: Deduc me . . .* The *thema* is then broken down into the three main parts of the *Itinerarium*.

2 In this paragraph the general form of the *Itinerarium* takes shape. It may be outlined as follows:

Psalm text	*Our movement*	*In reference to us*	*Objects*
deduci in via	transire per vestigium	extra nos	corporalia-temporalia
ingredi in veritate	intrare in mentem (imago)	intra nos	spiritualia-aeviterna
laetari in Dei notitia et reverentia maiestatis	transcendere ad aeternum	supra nos	spiritualissima-aeterna

3 For the analogy of creatures to God, cf. Gilson, "L'analogie universelle" in *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1943, ch. 7, p. 165 ff. Cf. also the explanation given by Saint Bonaventure himself in I *Sent.*, 3 (I, 66—94) and II *Sent.*, 16 (II, 393—408). He summarizes the doctrine as follows: "Ex praedictis autem colligi potest, quod creatura mundi est quasi quidam liber, in quo relucet, repraesentatur et legitur Trinitas fabricatrix secundum triplicem gradum expressionis, scilicet per modum vestigii, imaginis, et similitudinis; ita quod ratio vestigii reperitur in omnibus creaturis, ratio imaginis in solis intellectualibus seu spiritibus rationalibus, ratio similitudinis in solis

deiformibus; ex quibus quasi per quosdam scalares gradus intellectus humanus natus est gradatim ascendere in summum principium, quod est Deus." *Brevil.*, II, 12 (V, 230). The following scheme may help to clarify this doctrine:

Analogy	to God as	whose attributes	the creatures	resemble in various degrees
vestige or trace	Creator	attributes appropriated to the Three Persons	all creatures	distant but distinctly
image	moving object	attributes proper to the Three Persons	every spiritual creature	close and distinctly
similitude	indwelling Gift (Donum inhabitativum)	God Himself	every sanctified creature	most closely

Every creature is a vestige by the fact that its creation expresses in a remote but distinct manner God's power, wisdom, and goodness, attributes which are appropriated to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Every spiritual creature — rational souls and angels — is an image of the Blessed Trinity, and by the fact that it has God as its moving object and is therefore capable of possessing God in knowledge and love, it expresses in a close and distinct likeness the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Every spiritual creature which is sanctified by grace is a similitude of God because it is made deiform through God's indwelling and hence resembles God most closely. Saint Bonaventure deals with the vestiges of God in chapters I and II of the *Itinerarium*, with the images of God in chapter III, and with the similitudes of God in chapter IV.

4 *Aeviternum*, everlasting. This is not easy to translate in its technical meaning. According to Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy, *aeviternum* refers to created eternity, that is, the duration of a creature which resembles in every respect the eternity of God except that it is created. Hence a creature that is *aeviterna* does not have succession of existence, but exists like God, at once in an eternal *nunc*, without succession. As such, it is the measure of duration of spiritual substances (their *accidentia*, however, are measured by time) which, according to Aristotle, are both uncreated and necessary like God. Saint Bonaventure, unlike most scholastics, refuses to accept the idea of a created eternity, and in this he was every definitely followed by Ockham. Although Saint Bonaventure accepts the *aeviternum* as the measure of duration proper to spiritual substances, he maintains that it has succession of existence. Basically, he admits of only two measures of duration: eternity, reserved only to God, and time. ". . . est aliorum positio probabilior et intelligibilior, quod in aevo est ponere prius et posterius, et est ponere aliquam successionem . . ." II *Sent.*, 2, 1, 1, 3 (II, 62).

5 The three main steps of the *Itinerarium* are related by Saint Bonaventure to the following ternaries:

Via trium dierum in solitudine, the three days' journey in the wilderness (Exod. 3, 18). God asks Moses to lead the Hebrews into the wilderness for three days to sacrifice and worship. To translate *solitudo* as "solitude" rather than "wilderness" would be more in harmony with Saint Bonaventure's meaning.

Triplex illuminatio unius diei, the threefold enlightenment of a single day. The source for this is *Genesis* I and Saint Augustine's interpretation of it. Saint Augustine (IV *De genesi ad litt.*, CSEL, 28, 1; pp. 22—25, 39—42) ponders over the sequence: ". . . there was evening and morning one day" (Gen. 1, 5). Saint Bonaventure explains: "Dies dicit illustrationem a luce praecedentem super hanc tenebrosa; mane autem et vespera dicunt media inter diem et noctem secundum accessum et recessum. Intelligendum igitur, quod divina lux, illuminans Angelum illuminatione perfecta ad cognitionem sui, facit Angelum lucem: et cognitio ipsius Dei in se dies dicitur, quia pure est lux et cognitio et ratio cognoscendi. Lux ista angelica, sic illuminata, habet cognoscere creaturam; et sic, quia cognoscit id quod est tenebra, est eius cognitio mane vel vespera appellata; sed vespera, prout cognoscit creaturam in se ipsa, mane, prout ex illa cognitione consurgit ad laudandum et refert ad cognitionem ipsius, quam habet in Verbo." II *Sent.*, 4, 3, 2 (II, 141). Hence the clear vision of God is "noon light"; the cognition of creatures in themselves is "twilight"; and the elevation from creatures to God is "morning light." Cf. also *In Hexaem.*, I, 17 (V, 332): "Si enim Lucifer, contemplando illam veritatem, de notitia creaturae reductus fuisset ad Patris unitatem; fecisset de vespere mane diemque habuisset; sed quia cecidit in delectationem et appetitum excellentiae, diem amisit. Sic Adam similiter."

6 *In materia, in intelligentia, in arte aeterna,* in matter, in the understanding, and in the eternal art. This refers to the existence of things in matter, since according to Saint Bonaventure all creatures, even angels, are composed of matter and form; to the existence of things in angelic intellect *(intelligentia);* and to the existence of things in God who is the eternal Art, or rather, according to Saint Bonaventure, in the Word of God in whom the Father conceived the ideas: "Pater enim ab aeterno genuit Filium similem sibi et dixit se et similitudinem suam similem sibi et cum hoc totum posse suum; dixit quae posset facere, et maxime quae voluit facere, et omnia in eo expressit, scilicet in Filio seu in isto medio tamquam in arte sua." *In Hexaem.*, I, 13 (V, 331).

7 *Fiat, fecit, et factum est,* Let it be made, He made it, and it was made. This again refers to *Genesis* I, and to the interpretation of Saint Augustine (II *De Genesi ad litt.*, VIII, 16—20 (PL 34, 269—270); IV *op. cit.*, XXIX, 46 (PL 34, 315); *op. cit.*, XXXI, 48 (PL 34, 316). Saint Bonaventure explains: ". . . quia primo producta sunt ab aeterno in arte aeterna, secundo in creatura intellectuali, tertio in mundo sensibili." *In Hexaem.*, I, 15 (V, 332). Hence "*fiat*" refers to the expression of the ideas within the eternal art, God; "*fecit*" refers to the infusion of the ideas into the angelic intellects or their illumination; and since light and angels are equated, both Saint Augustine and Saint Bonaventure note that the creation of light is not followed by "*factum est,*" and that "*factum est*" refers to the creation of the visible world according to the ideas.

8 *Aspectus principales,* principal ways of perceiving. This is not to be interpreted as powers or faculties of the soul. It is one and the same higher reason looking at things in different ways, or as Saint Bonaventure puts it, they are different *officia* of the same soul. "Aliquando fit divisio potentiarum secundum aspectus, sicut dividitur potentia cognitiva in rationem, intellectum et intelligentiam, secundum quod aspicit ad inferius, ad par et ad superius." II *Sent.*, 24, 1, 2, 3 (II, 566).

9 In this paragraph the subdivision into three main steps is explained. These steps are distinct but not mutually exclusive. The first

step considers God as the *Alpha* and *Omega* (cf. *Apoc.* I, 8). As being, God is the principle of all being, hence the *Alpha*, the first letter of the Greek alphabet. As goodness, God is the end of all being, hence the *Omega*, the last letter of the Greek alphabet. The second step is the basis of the subdivisions consistently followed throughout the succeeding chapter headings. It is excellently summarized in VII, 1. To see God *through* the mirror of creatures is immediate cognition of the divinity; to see God *in* the mirror of creatures is to see God's influence and presence in them. "Cognoscere Deum in creatura est cognoscere ipsius praesentiam et influentiam in creatura. . . . Cognoscere autem Deum per creaturam est elevari a cognitione creaturae ad cognitionem Dei quasi per scalam mediam." I *Sent.*, 3, 1, 3 (II, 74). Cf. also III *Sent.*, 31, 2, 1 (III, 682).

10 *Gradus potentiarum animae*, gradated powers of the soul. These powers, of course, are not faculties of the soul, but rather ways of perceiving, or *officia* of the higher reason. They go back to *De Spiritu et anima* of Alcher of Clairvaux. Cf. Saint Augustine (PL 40, 10—14, and 38). Cf. also Saint Bonaventure II *Sent.*, 24, 1, 2, 1, (II, 560), esp. *Ad primum*, p. 561. Saint Bonaventure, however, uses this scheme quite freely, as, for example: "Habet enim anima tres potentias: animalem, intellectualem, divinam, secundum triplicem oculum: carnis, rationis, contemplationis . . . Potentia animalis duplex est; vel in obiecta sensuum particularium et sensus communis, vel in phantasmata sensibilium, et sic est sensus et imaginatio. Intellectualis etiam duplex est; aut ut considerat universales rationes abstractas, ut abstrahit a loco, tempore, et dimensione; aut ut elevatur ad substantias separatas; et sic sunt duae potentiae, scilicet ratio et intellectus; per rationem confert, per intellectum cognoscit se et substantias spirituales. Similiter operatio vel potentia divina duplex est: una quae se convertit ad contuenda divina spectacula; alia quae se convertit ad degustanda divina solatia. Primum fit per intelligentiam, secundum per vim unitivam, sive amativam." *In Hexaem.*, V, 24 (V, 358).

With the help of these powers, we ascend in a kind of dialectical movement:

ab imis ad summa — this could be called macrocosmic movement
ab exterioribus ad intima — microscosmic movement
a temporalibus ad aeterna — metaphysical movement

11 *Apex mentis seu synderesis scintilla*, the summit of the mind or the spark of synderesis. This is the highest power of the soul, the apex, and from here the mystical *transitus* or mystical union proceeds. Apparently the term goes back to Saint Jerome's commentary on Ezechiel where he likens this power to the eagle. According to Saint Bonaventure, it is conscience, or the natural weight or gravity of the soul toward goodness and away from evil: "Synderesis dicit illud quod stimulat ad bonum". II *Sent.*, 39, 2, 1 (II, 910). He also explains the parallelism between synderesis and cognition as well as the distinction from conscience: "Nam conscientia dictat et synderesis appetit vel refugit . . . Et sic ut proprie loquamur, synderesis dicit potentiam affectivam inquantum naturalis habilis est ad bonum et ad bonum tendit; conscientia vero dicit habitum intellectus practici . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 914, and dub. p. 917.

12 *Incurvatus*, bent over. The idea of man's spiritual rectitude in his original state and subsequent curvature through sin goes back to Saint Bernard, cf. *In Cant. Cant.* sermo 80, 2 (PL, 183, 1166). Bernard may have been influenced in this by Luke 13, 10: ". . . and she was bent over and utterly unable to look upwards . . ." and 13: ". . . and instantly

she was made straight." Saint Bonaventure deals with the theme more *in extenso* in the *Prooemium* to II *Sent.*, 2 (II, 3 ff). The curvature caused by sin directs man to himself and the result is self-love and concupiscence. It must be healed by grace which is *charitas* and a just life without selfishness. Ignorance makes man blind and prevents him from seeing the light of heaven (cf. *Tobias* V, 12); and this is healed by science and wisdom.

13 *Triplicem modum theologiae*, threefold theological sense. This must not be confused with the interpretations of Sacred Scripture. For the distinction between *sensus litteralis*, *sensus allegoricus*, *sensus moralis*, and *sensus tropologicus* or *anagogicus*, cf. *Brevil.*, Prol. 4 (V, 205) and *In Hexaem.*, XIII, 11 (V, 389). Symbolic theology seems to be the application of Holy Scripture to creatures for the purpose of reaching their symbolic meaning. Saint Bonaventure explains as follows: "Certum est quod homo stans habebat cognitionem rerum creaturam et per illarum repraesentationem ferebatur in Deum . . . et ad hoc sunt creaturae et sic reducuntur in Deum. Cadente autem homine, cum amisisset cognitionem, non erat qui reduceret eas in Deum. Unde iste liber, scilicet mundus, quasi emortuus et deletus erat; necessarius autem fuit alius liber, per quem iste illuminaretur, ut acciperet metaphoras rerum. Hic autem liber est Scripturae, qui ponit similitudines, proprietates et metaphoras rerum in libro mundi scriptarum. Liber ergo Scripturae reparativus est totius mundi ad Deum cognoscendum, laudandum, amandum. Unde si quaeras, quid tibi valet serpens, vel de quo tibi servit? Plus valet tibi quam totus mundus, quia docet te prudentiam . . ." *In Hexaem.*, XIII, 12 (V, 390). Theology proper is, of course, theology in general; mystical theology has the usual modern connotation.

14 Here Saint Bonaventure explains the subjective conditions for the ascent to God. It should be noted that these conditions are the exercises of the *De triplici via* — prayer plus a just life, meditation, and contemplation.

15 Here are several famous ternaries which Saint Bonaventure took over in part from another great "trinitarian thinker", Saint Augustine. The basis is *Sap.* 11, 21: "Omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti." Saint Bonaventure gives an excellent explanation of these and other ternaries: ". . . res creata habet tripliciter considerari: aut in se, aut in comparatione ad alias creaturas, aut in comparatione ad causam primam. Et secundum hos omnes modos contingit reperire trinitatem tripliciter.

"Si enim consideretur quantum in se vel quantum ad se, hoc est, aut quantum ad substantiam principiorum; et sic est illa trinitas: materia, forma, compositio, quae ponitur in libro de Regula fidei: aut quantum ad habitudines; et sic est illa Sapientiae undecimo: Omnia in numero, pondere et mensura disposuisti. In numero enim intelligitur principiorum distinctio, in pondere propria ipsorum inclinatio, in mensura eorum ad invicem proportio.

"Item, si consideretur una creatura in comparatione ad alias creaturas, hoc potest esse aut in quantum agit actione naturali; et sic sumitur illa trinitas Dionysii (*De cael. Hierarch.*, c. 11), substantia, virtus, et operatio; aut in quantum agit actiones spirituali; et sic illa Augustini de octoginta tribus Quaestionibus (q. 18), 'quo constat, quo congruit, quo discernitur', et ultimum refertur ad animam.

"Si autem consideretur in comparatione ad Deum, hoc potest esse dupliciter: aut in quantum referuntur tantum; et sic est illa, modus, species, et ordo; aut in quantum referuntur et assimilantur; et sic est

illa, unitas, veritas, et bonitas ... unitas respondet modo, qui respicit Deum ut causam efficientem; veritas speciei, quae respicit ipsum ut exemplar; bonitas ordini, qui respicit Deum ut finem." I *Sent.*, 3, 1, 3, (I, 78 ff.).

16 *Pondus, mensura, modus,* weight, number, and measure. Weight is the tendency of things to seek their natural place; gravity is thought of as innate and as a natural appetite or, in spiritual things, as love. When all things are rightly placed, there is order, that is, the order of all things tending toward their final cause, God. Number is the limitation of a thing in dimension and in perfection. Measure is the metaphysical limitation of a creature which, in relation to God, is essentially finite and contingent, since it is an effect of God.

17 *Species,* species and also beauty. *Species* is related to truth and exemplary cause. Cf. *Brevil.*, II, 1 (V, 219).

18 *Considerans hunc mundum attendit originem, decursum et terminum,* the world in its origin, development, and end. Saint Bonaventure follows Saint Augustine in his conception of history as a most beautiful drama, composed by God and acted by mankind. The beauty of this drama and its meaning, however, can be grasped only through faith and on the basis of revelation. But since we are in such a position that we can witness only a small part of this drama, we need Holy Scripture to raise us to a point from which we can view and comprehend it in its entirety — from the creation of the world to judgment day. It is to this consideration that Saint Bonaventure refers the believing man. "Sic igitur totus iste mundus ordinatissimo decursu a Scriptura describitur procedere a principio usque ad finem, ad modum cuiusdam pulcherrimi carminis ordinati, ubi potest quis speculari secundum decursum temporis varietatem, multiplicitatem et aequitatem, ordinem, rectitudinem et pulchritudinem multorum divinorum iudiciorum, procedentium a sapientia Dei gubernante mundum. Unde sicut nullus potest videre pulchritudinem carminis, nisi aspectus eius feratur super totum versum; sic nullus videt pulchritudinem ordinis et regiminis universi, nisi eam totam speculetur. Et quia nullus homo tam longaevus est, quod totam possit videre oculis carnis suae, nec futura potest per se praevidere; providit nobis Spiritus Sanctus librum Scripturae sacrae, cuius longitudo commetitur se decursui regiminis universi." *Brevil.*, 2, 4 (V, 204). For a more detailed description of the six ages of history in analogy with the six ages of man, cf. *In Hexaem.*, XV, especially XVI (V, 398). The idea of history as "a most beautiful poem" is found in Saint Augustine, *Epist.* 138, 5 (PL 33, 527); *De civit. Dei,* XII, 4 (PL 41, 351—352); and *Contra Secundinum,* 15 (PL 42, 577).

19 *Septiformem conditionem creaturarum,* the sevenfold general properties of creatures. The following consideration of the sevenfold condition of creatures shows the influence of Hugo of Saint Victor, *Didascaleion,* VII, 1—12 (PL 176, 811—822).

20 *Distinctio,* distinction. The term here refers to the creation of the world. The works of *distinctio* are the separation of light from darkness (first day), the separation of the waters beneath and above the firmament (second day), and the separation of the waters from the land (third day). Cf. *Brevil.*, II, 2 (V, 220).

21 *Ornatus,* adornment. This refers to the following three days of creation: luminous nature adorned by the sun, moon, and stars (fourth day); perspicuous nature, water and air, adorned by the fishes and the birds (fifth day); opaque nature, land, adorned by beasts, reptiles, and man (sixth day). Cf. *ibid.*

22 *Per potentiam, praesentiam et essentiam,* by His power, presence, and essence. The presence of God in all things *per potentiam, praesentiam*

et essentiam is a time-honored formula, the explanation of which caused considerable difficulty to the scholastics. It was referred to Gregory the Great, but it is actually found in *Glossa Ordinaria, Cant. Cant.*, 5, 17 (PL 113, 1157). Cf. Adrian Fuerst, O. S. B., *An Historical Study of the Doctrine of the Omnipresence of God in Selected Writings between 1220 to 1270*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology (second series) no. 62, Catholic University of America Press, 1951, p. 18 *et passim*. Saint Bonaventure explains: "Assignatio autem beati Gregorii accipitur quantum ad conditiones modorum essendi. In his enim tribus circumloquitur beatus Gregorius perfectionem modorum existendi Deum in omnibus, in quibus est hoc modo. Aliquid enim est in aliquo secundum praesentialitatis indistantiam, ut contentum in continente, ut aqua in vase; aliquid secundum virtutis influentiam, ut motor in mobili; aliquid secundum intimitatis existentiam ut illud quod est continens intra, ut anima in corpore. Et omne quod perfecte est in re, necesse est esse quantum ad hanc triplicem conditionem; et hoc modo est Deus. Et ideo dicitur esse potentialiter, praesentialiter et essentialiter, quia secundum praesentialitatis indistantiam, secundum virtutis influentiam, secundum intimitatis existentiam." I *Sent.*, 37, 1, 3, 2 (I, 648).

23 *Rationes seminales*, seminal principles. This idea goes back to the *logoi spermatikoi* of the Stoics. It was adopted by Saint Augustine, from whom Saint Bonaventure derived it. According to Saint Bonaventure, the *rationes seminales* are active and positive potentialities which the Creator has inserted and concealed in the *seminarium* of this world. They are the essences or forms of things to be produced. Production and generation, however, are only the awakening of this positive potentiality and the stimulation for its development to a complete and visible state. Corruption means the reversion of the seminal reason from visible to invisible state. "Cum satis constet rationem seminalem esse potentiam activam inditam materiae, et illam potentiam activam constet esse essentiam formam, cum ex ea fiat forma mediante operatione naturae, quae non producit aliquid ex nihil; satis rationabiliter ponitur quod ratio seminalis est essentia formae producendae, differens ab illa secundum esse completum et incompletum, sive secundum esse in potentia et in actu." II *Sent.*, 18, 1, 3 (II, 440). The two states of implication (active potentiality) and explication (the visible creature) are likened to a rosebud and a rose. Cf. *ibid.*, 15, 1, 1 (II, 374).

24 *Quod est artificiales . . . artis*. These terms had a broader meaning in the Middle Ages than they have today. *Ars* here means everything that is done by man acting as a rational being; hence it includes every object of culture made by man. *Artificiales* has much the same connotation. It is applied to what we would call artistic works as well as to those things done by human ingenuity as opposed to nature.

CHAPTER TWO

1 Concerning the structure of bodies and the function of light, cf. *Brevil.*, II, 3 (V, 220). On the interesting speculations on light which is the first substantial form of bodies and which brings about the various composition of the elements into *mixta*, or inorganic bodies, and into *complexionata*, or organic bodies, cf. Gilson, *La philosophie de saint Bonaventure*, p. 219 ff.

2 The theory that angels have the physical function of governing the heavenly mechanics is adopted by Saint Bonaventure as probable. Cf. II *Sent.*, 14, 1, 3, 2 (II, 348): ". . . Deus movet caelum mediante

Intelligentia creata sive mediante Angelo; et hoc competebat origini, quem Deus constituit universo . . . Et ideo, sicut congruum est, Angelos deputari ad ministerium hominum, sic etiam congruum est, deputari ad motum et regimen caelorum, cum in hoc etiam ministrent homini viatori et divinae subserviant maiestati." Although the Seraphic Doctor is not opposed to this theory of the ancient philosophers, his main interest is focused on the second — the spiritual and supernatural function, that is, to lend assistance to man. About this function, cf. II *Sent.*, 10 and 11 (II, 259 ff.).

3 *Sensus intermedii — corpora intermedia.* The Seraphic Doctor has in mind here the position of the sense organs and bodies. In the human body the eyes have the highest position, and the hands, chief organs of touch, have the lowest. Of the elements, fire reaches farthest upward, and earth has the lowest position under the water. The correspondance between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos, that is, between the universe and the human body, was quite familiar to the medieval man. Cf. *Elucidarium*, I, 11 (PL 172, 1116), where this analogy is carried through almost every organ of the human body. The *corpora sublimia* are the heavenly bodies not only because of their position but also because of their substance which is not of the same nature as any of the four elements. It is of a *quinta essentia*, and is more noble because it is not subject to contrariety, but rather reconciles and conserves the contrariety of the elements. Cf. II *Sent.*, 14, 1, 1, 2 (II, 339) and also *op. cit.*, 12, 2 (II, 302).

4 *Quatuor primariae qualitates*, the four primary qualities. They are *calidum, frigidum, humidum, siccum*, and are perceived by the touch which is considered the basic sense. These qualities are called primary because they are the basic qualities of the elements.

5 *Sensibilia communia*, common sense objects. They are common because they are perceived by more than one sense in contrast to the *sensibilia particularia*, which are perceived by one sense only.

6 *Apprehensio*, sense-apprehension. The process described here by Saint Bonaventure needs some explanation. The following should be distinguished one from another: bodies themselves as sense-objects; the species or similitudes of these bodies which are generated by them and radiate about them; the medium in which these species are generated, for example, the air in the case of visible and audible species; the exterior sense organ which is the same as the bodily organ, and as such, part of the body; the interior sense organ which is the perfection of the exterior sense organ; and finally, the apprehensive power itself, which is a part of the soul and always remains in the soul, and which is capable of sense perception. We hesitate to equate the interior organ with the interior sense or the *sensus communis*, as seems commonly to be done. Another possible and perhaps better explanation could be that the interior organ is the organ of the interior sense, since it also needs an organ: "Sensus sive interior sive exterior est potentia egens organo determinato." IV *Sent.*, 50, 2, 1, 1, fund. 2 (IV, 1045). The sense apprehension, as described in this passage by Saint Bonaventure, comprehends both the activity of the exterior senses, which apprehend the particular sense qualities, and the activity of the interior senses. Of the latter, Saint Bonaventure distinguishes four: the common sense *(sensus communis)*, which apprehends common sense qualities ("in sensibilibus alia est potentia, quae videt, et alia quae videt se videre . . .") I *Sent.*, 17, 1, 2, ad 4 (I, 297); the imagination or phantasm, which has the function of further dematerializing the already somewhat detached sensible image; the power of comparing and composing the image with

others ("componit et dividit per phantasiam, quae est prima vis collative . . .") *Brevil.*, II, 9 (V, 227); and lastly, the sense-memory, which stores these sense-images for further use. All these functions should be kept in mind when Saint Bonaventure speaks of the process of apprehension. The natural or instinctive judgment (the *vis aestimativa*) is not considered at length by Saint Bonaventure, although he does mention it in this present chapter (n. 6) as having the function of judging whether something perceived is becoming or harmful. For this part of psychology, cf. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 335 ff.

7 The reaction of pleasure to the apprehension of sense objects is divided by the Seraphic Doctor into three groups. This division should not be taken strictly in an exclusive sense, as he does not fail to mention. Beauty *(speciositas)* is understood here in a broad sense as the aesthetic pleasure which is characteristic of the reaction to objects perceived by the eye, although it is not limited to them. It is referred to them mainly, that is, *appropriate loquendo*, as the theologian refers creation mainly to the Father, although creation is one act of the entire Blessed Trinity. The same is true for suavity *(suavitas)*; the character of being pleasing, suave, sweet, agreeable, is referred chiefly to sounds and scents. In like manner, the pleasure reaction of *salubritas*, that is, of refreshment, stimulation, and feeling satisfied and at ease, is referred to taste and touch. The word *speciositas* has a twofold implication — the objective and the subjective. *Species* has the objective meaning of that which is essential in a thing. In this sense we used *species* as distinguished from *genus*. But when the objective, sensible species of a thing is perceived in its fulness of being, there occurs a subjective, aesthetic experience of beauty.

The definition of beauty, "Pulchritudo est aequalitas numerosa," goes back to Saint Augustine's *De Musica* VI, 13, 38 (PL 32, 1184). There is no doubt that Saint Bonaventure understands this expression in the sense of proportioned equality, although Saint Augustine probably understood it in the sense of harmonious or rhythmical proportion. Hence the object is beautiful if it is proportionally the same as its model; the nearer its proportions are to the model the more perfect its beauty. Saint Bonaventure, having quoted the text of Saint Augustine in I *Sent.*, 31, 2, 1, 3, ad 5 (I, 544), says, concerning the beauty of the Son in relation to the Father in the Blessed Trinity (the Son being the *Species Patris*): "Quoniam igitur in comparatione ad Patrem habet pulchritudine aequalitatis, quia perfecte exprimit, sicut pulcra imago . . ." According to the Seraphic Doctor, there can be a twofold beauty in an image: "Quod patet, quia imago dicitur pulcra, quando bene protacta est, dicitur etiam pulcra, quando bene repraesentat illum, ad quem est. Et quod ista sit alia ratio pulchritudinis, patet, quia contingit unam esse sine alia: quemadmodum dicitur imago diaboli pulcra, quando bene repraesentat foeditatem diaboli, et tunc foeda est." *(Loc. cit.)* Whether we translate *numerosa* as "proportional" or as "harmonious" is immaterial here, since every numerical harmony is a proportion.

The definition of beauty, "Quidam partium situs cum coloris suavitate," is even more restricted to images and pictures. It goes back to Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, XXII, 24, 4 (PL 41, 791). Instead of *quidam partium situs*, Saint Augustine uses *partium congruentia*. Both expressions mean the harmonious arrangement of the parts of a picture. The other part of the definition means a pleasing arrangement of colors, or simply harmony of color.

In any case, proportion, or harmony, is the basis of all beauty, as it is the basis of every true pleasure. As to pleasure, this proportion will be explained further in n. 8.

8 *Diiudicatio*, judgment. This is not the natural or instinctive judgment which man has in common with brute animals, as Saint Bonaventure expressly states, but the higher judgment of the mind which enters even our sense apprehension. This is possible since Saint Bonaventure does not admit such a real distinction between the faculties of the soul as does Saint Thomas, but rather, a kind of formal distinction, although he does not use this exact expression. According to Saint Bonaventure, the faculties are consubstantial with the soul. Cf. I *Sent.*, 3, 2, 1, 3, ad 6 (I, 87). Our sense-apprehension is fertilized, as it were, by a higher sphere through the operation of this special judgment, as will be explained in n. 9. The function of the *diiudicatio* as described here is that of abstraction. We are able to see in the concrete sense apprehension something that transcends it, its universal, and therefore its timeless and abstract content; and of this we are able to form an idea. Hence the function of the *diiudicatio* is to purify the sensible species from all its contingent imperfections and to conceive it in its pure spiritual and ideal form. More will be said about it further on in connection with the theory of illumination.

9 The definition of pleasure *(oblectatio)* goes back to Avicenna, *Metaphys.* tr. 8, c. 7: "Quoniam delectatio non est nisi apprehensio convenientis, secundum quod est conveniens." In this the subjective factor of beauty is expressed.

10 Here we meet for the first time Saint Augustine's theory of illumination. It is a doctrine frequently invoked by the Seraphic Doctor, not only because of the authority of Saint Augustine and the "illumined philosophers" like Plotinus, but because he liked it. Cf. *In Hexaem.*, VII, 3 (V, 365). It is true that we judge about things. But how is it that we do so? Is it actually we who decide or determine that this thing must be so, that it is beautiful, harmonious? The Seraphic Doctor says that is not the reason. According to his theory, the act of judging consists in applying a standard to things apprehended, to measure them with a standard, to submit them to a standard that transcends them. Things in time and place are mutable. That by which we judge, the reason or measure, is something ideal, without time, without space, and without change. But to be timeless, spaceless, and immutable are qualifications that apply to God alone. Hence to judge about these sense objects means to see the thing in a kind of light, to compare them with the absolute standards shining forth in this light and simply to acknowledge that they are so, but that they need not necessarily be so. Hence it is because of this light that the ideal, absolute content of things which are contingent in time and space are grasped. Now they shine forth beyond any doubt as infallibly true and give absolute certitude to our judgment; they are so present to us that they cannot be effaced from our memory or consciousness, since as soon as we apprehend their contingent replicas, the ideal "reasons" shed their light over them. And since they transcend us and are the measure of our judgment, they themselves cannot be refuted, or judged, or measured. Purely spiritual, eternal, and necessary as they are, they must be in God, in His productive Mind, the Eternal Art. Saint Bonaventure does not say, however, that we behold these ideals or "reasons" or rules directly. It is the light of God that illumines us, that regulates and stimulates us to grasp in the concrete the absolute and necessary content. Hence, without the light from above, nothing definite and absolute could be known; without concrete objects, nothing would be apprehended at all. ". . . ad certitudinalem cognitionem necessario requiritur ratio aeterna ut regulans et ratio motiva, non quidem ut sola et in sua omni-

moda claritate, sed cum ratione creata, et ut ex parte a nobis contuita secundum statum viae." *De sc. Christi*, IV (V, 23). The apprehension, then, of contingent objects is the result of the interaction of the eternal light with the light of our reason.

11 Saint Bonaventure distinguishes seven different kinds of numbers. In this he again follows Saint Augustine. By number he means not only natural numbers, but also ratios, harmonies, proportions, and certainly rhythms. (Cf. *De vera religione*, 40—44 (PL 34, 138—141); *op. cit.*, 74—82 (PL 34, 155—159); and *De musica*, VI, the entire book (PL 32, 1081—1194). Saint Augustine introduces these distinctions mainly in order to explain sense apprehension. The first rhythms or numbers are the *sonantes*—sounding numbers, that are outside the soul in bodies and in the air; the *occursores* — onrunning numbers that are perceived rhythms existing in sense apprehension. The *progressores* are the forthcoming numbers, those which come from within and are expressed in gesticulations and rhythmical movements. The *sensuales*, sensuous numbers, are the pleasures that these rhythms cause. Rhythms or melodies can be stored in the memory, and when recalled, they are *memoriales*, or the recorded numbers. Finally, transcending the mind are the *iudiciales* — the judicial numbers which are the eternal reasons by which we judge about rhythms. It is interesting to note that Saint Bonaventure adds a seventh kind, the artistic numbers, *artificiales;* they are the conceptions of the artist who, by an impression from the eternal reasons or judicial numbers, through appropriate actions of the body *(progressores)*, is able to express beautiful and well proportioned things. This is a valuable contribution of Saint Bonaventure to the theory of art, for here is a basis for the expressionistic element that must be in every artistic creation, and without which there is simply imitation, and hence no true art.

12 The Seraphic Doctor declares that every creature is a visible sign of something invisible in God. He distinguishes four kinds of signification, of which the first only is universal and natural, that of vestige. The wisdom, goodness, and power of God are manifest in every creature, which thus bears the stamp or footprint of its maker. The other significations concern revelation and the supernatural order and special creatures. Thus the second kind of signification concerns those creatures used by Sacred Scripture to prefigure things to come: the burning thornbush, the flower from the root of Jesse, the rock (*petra autem erat Christus* 1 Cor. 10, 4), the serpent, the killing of the lamb. The third kind of signification concerns the apparitions of God to men, for example, that of God to Abraham as three angels, to the Prophets, and of the Holy Ghost as a dove. The corporeal manifestation was effected by the ministry of angels, as the Seraphic Doctor, following Saint Augustine, assumes. Cf. I *Sent.*, 16, u., 1 (I, 279): "Filius vero et Spiritus Sanctus in veteri Testamento non apparuit ut inhabitans, sed ut se inhabitaturum praemonstrans; unde Angelus apparebat in illis creaturis in persona Dei. Et hoc probat Augustinus in libro Tertio De Trinitate (11, 27) dicens: 'Constat firmitate auctoritatis et probabilitate rationis cum antiquis Patribus dicitur Deus apparuisse, voces illas ab Angelis esse factas.' Et adducit auctoritates Apostoli ad Galatas tertio (19): Lex ordinata per Angelos; et ad Hebraeos secundo (2): Si enim qui per Angelos dictus est sermo etc. . . .quia apparitio fiebat ministerio Angeli; quia sicut dicit Augustinus quarto De Trinitate (21, 31), probabile est, quod illa columba, in qua apparuit Spiritus sanctus, secundum ministerium Angeli moveretur." The fourth signification concerns the visible signs which are the sacraments in the proper sense, not only signifying grace, but also conferring it.

CHAPTER THREE

1 *Reintraremus*, re-enter. The Seraphic Doctor is again following Saint Augustine and tradition. We have left ourselves, he says; we have gone out of the palace of our minds through sense cognition, and now we must re-enter into our very self. Cf. this chapter, n. 3, and also ch. V, 4; especially *De perfectione vitae ad sorores*, 1, 6 (VIII, 109).

2 *Tabernaculi*. The Seraphic Doctor refers to the structure of the Tabernacle (Exod. 26) and the court or atrium (Exod. 38). The atrium corresponds to the first two steps of the *Itinerarium* and is an analogy of the world; the tabernacle, or to be more exact, the anterior part of the tabernacle, corresponds to the following two steps, that is, the third and fourth, and is an analogy of the mind; the candelabra is in front of the veil that divides the tabernacle, behind which is the Holy of Holies, the Ark of the Covenant. The mind corresponds to the anterior part of the tabernacle, and the candelabra, to the light of the intellect, according to the often quoted verse: "The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us" (Ps. 4, 7), or to be more specific, the light of the *intellectus agens*. Cf. II *Sent.*, 24, 1, 2, 4 (II, 569): ". . . ergo illa potentia, quae consequitur animam ex parte intellectus sui, quoddam lumen est in ipsa, de quo lumine potest intelligi illud Psalmi: Signatum . . . Et hoc lumen videtur Philosophus intellexisse esse intellectum agentem." Cf. also *De donis S. S.*, VIII, 13 (V, 496). However, in ch. V, 1, the Seraphic Doctor understands this light as "the light of the Eternal Truth." The Holy of Holies corresponds to the fifth and sixth steps of the *Itinerarium*.

3 *Imago*, image of God. Of the various analogies by which the mind is called an image of God and which were developed by Saint Augustine, Saint Bonaventure choses the ternary *memoria, intelligentia, et voluntas*. Cf. ch. III, 5. A second ternary — *mens, notitia, amor*, that is, the mind, self-cognition, and self-love — is also mentioned in the *Itinerarium* along with the first ternary. However, the Seraphic Doctor clearly distinguished each group. Cf. I *Sent.*, 3, 2 (I, 80). The better one, and the one adopted by Saint Bonaventure in nn. 3-4, is *memoria, intelligentia et voluntas*. Cf. *loc. cit.*, 1, 2 (I, 83): "Quoniam igitur, cum anima convertitur ad Deum, sibi conformatur, et imago attenditur secundum conformitatem: ideo imago Dei consistit in potentiis (memoria, intelligentia, voluntas), secundum quod habent obiectum Deum. — Rursum, quoniam anima est imago Dei, et quod convertitur et conformatur imagini, et imaginato, ideo anima, secundum quod convertitur supra se, non recedit a conformitate; et ideo imago consistit in his potentiis, secundum quod habent animam pro obiecto . . . Concedendum est ergo, quod imago consistit in his potentiis, secundum quod ad animam convertuntur, primo tamen et principaliter . . ., secundum quod convertuntur ad Deum. Unde Augustinus his duobus modis assignat imaginem: prima est in mente, notitia et amore, secundum quod mens novit et amat se; secunda est in memoria, intelligentia et voluntate. Et in fine libri ostendit, completissimam rationem imaginis esse in comparatione ad Deum." It is important for an understanding of the following to note that Saint Bonaventure does not consider these three powers — *memoria, intelligentia, et amor* — as accidents of the soul; hence they are not in the category of quality, but of substance, although, as he adds, *per reductionem*. He explains it thus: "Contingit iterum nominare potentias animae, ut immediate egrediuntur a substantia, ut per haec tria: memoriam, intelligentiam et voluntatem. Et hoc patet, quia omni accidente circumscripto, intellecto quod anima sit substantia spiritualis,

hoc ipso quod est sibi praesens et sibi coniuncta, habet potentiam ad memorandum et intelligendum et diligendum se. Unde istae potentiae sunt animae consubstantiales et sunt in eodem genere per reductionem in quo est anima. Attamen, quoniam egrediuntur ab anima — potentia enim se habet per modum egredientis — non sunt omnino idem per essentiam, nec tamen adeo differunt, ut sinalterius generis, sed sunt in eodem genere per reductionem." I *Sent.*, 3, 2, 1, 3 (I, 86).

4 *Oculus carnis — oculus rationis*, the bodily eye, the eye of the mind. The expression goes back to Hugh of St. Victor. Cf. *De Sacrament.*, I, 10, 3 (PL, 76, 329). Saint Bonaventure is not stressing the obvious fact that our inner experiences cannot be seen by the bodily eye. He is using an analogical expression for the second *aspectus*, or outlook of the higher mind toward the exterior world. Cf. *Brevil.*, II, 12 (V, 230): "Propter quam triplicem visionem homo accepit oculum, sicut dicit Hugo de sancto Victore, scilicet carnis, rationis et contemplationis: oculum carnis, quo videret mundum et ea quae sunt in mundo; oculum rationis, quo videret animum et ea quae sunt in animo; oculum contemplationis, quo videret Deum et ea quae sunt in Deo; et sic oculo carnis videret homo ea quae sunt extra se, oculo rationis ea quae sunt intra se, et oculo contemplationis ea quae sunt supra se." In chapter V, 4 and VI, 1 and 2, the *oculus contemplationis* is called *oculus mentis et intelligentiae*. In any case, "eye" has here consistently a religious meaning.

5 *Memoria*, memory. The term has a much wider scope than it usually has in modern usage. The Seraphic Doctor follows closely Saint Augustine. There are three main meanings: "Memoria accipitur tripliciter: Uno modo prout est receptiva et retentiva sensibilium et praeteritorum; alio modo prout est retentiva praeteritorum, sive sensibilium, sive intelligibilium; et tertio modo prout est retentiva specierum, abstrahendo ab omni differentia temporis, utpote specierum innatarum. Et hoc tertio modo est para imaginis . . . Primo modo memoria sequitur sensum, secundo modo sequitur ipsam intelligentiam et voluntatem, tertio modo antecedit et respondet Patri. I *Sent.*, 3, 2, 1, ad 3 (I, 81). The three operations of the memory mentioned in this number do not exactly correspond to this division, for here the Seraphic Doctor subdivides the third kind of memory and contracts the first two kinds into one.

a) Hence the first activity of the memory concerns the retention and the representation of exterior and interior experiences (Saint Bonaventure does not mention the "receptive" activity of the soul, since we receive only sensible facts; whatever is in our soul is there and is not received), including the past, the present, and the future. Surprising, but typically Augustinian, is the addition of the memory of future things by anticipation. *Confess.*, XI, 28, 37 (PL 32, 824). Cf. Saint Bonaventure, *In Hexaem.*, III, 6 (V, 344): "Sicut enim in providentia mea vel memoria possunt esse multa futura, et unum futurum magis distans quam aliud . . ." The reflection of God's eternity in our memory Saint Bonaventure shows more fully in the following passage: "In anima namque, quae est Dei imago, est memoria praeteritorum, intelligentia praesentium et providentia futurorum; et haec quidem simul sunt in anima, ita quod in anima, quae est substantia spiritualis, simul colliguntur et coniunguntur quae per diversa tempora succedunt; quia tamen ipsa limitata est et aliquid accipit a re extra, definit ab illa simultate perfecta" (which is the eternity of God) *De myst. Trinit.*, 5, 1 (V, 90).

b) The second activity (first subdivision of the third mode of the memory) concerns the retention and representation of the simple

notions or ideas of objects, chiefly mathematical (geometric and arithmetic), and of time.

6 *Dignitates*, axioms. For a better understanding of this literal translation of the Greek term "axiom" by the Latin word "dignitas," the editors of the Quaracchi edition refer here (III, 482, note 2) to a text of Saint Albert the Great, who says: "Illam enim propositionem immediati principii, quam necesse est habere apud se per naturalem habitum eum qui est docendus, et non accipit eam per doctrinam, dicimus dignitatem vel maximam propositionem, quae, ut dicit Boethius (in *libr. de Hebdom.*) communis animi conceptio est, quam scilicet cognitis terminis quilibet probat auditam. Haec autem dignitas vocatur, quia omnibus dignior est, eo quod omnibus influit cognitionem et veritatem; maxima dicitur, eo quod virtute influentiae lucis et veritatis omnia excedit immediata principia. Quaedam enim immediata principia sunt huiusmodi virtutem habentia, sicut 'de quo libet affirmare vel negare et de nullo simul', et 'quod omne totum maius est sua parte': et hoc non ponitur sed per seipsam est, et prius non habet, quo demonstretur, et ideo non petitur ad ponendum." *Liber I Posteriorum*, tract. II, cap. 4; ed. Borgnet, t. 2, p. 29 ff.

7 *Capax Dei*, capable of possessing God. Cf. Saint Augustine, *De Trinit.*, XIV, 8, 11 (PL 42, 1044). Saint Bonaventure remarks on this text: "Capax aut non est secundum substantiam vel essentiam, quia sic est in omnibus creaturis: ergo per compositionem et amorem . . ." I *Sent.* 3, u., 1, fund. 1 (I, 68). Cf. also *ibid.* p. 73.

8 The thought expressed here is that perfect knowledge within the finite sphere of being is impossible unless understood from the absolute region of God. It is developed at greater length by Saint Bonaventure in *De mysterio Trinitatis* and constitutes his second proof for the existence of God. The following texts taken from the *De mysterio Trinitatis* are arranged in the order of corresponding ideas in the *Itinerarium*. The numbers are those of the *De mysterio Trinitatis*, 1, 1 (V, 46—47):

(15) "Item, si est ens diminutum sive secundum quid, est ens simpliciter: quia ens secundum quid nec esse nec intelligi potest, nisi intelligatur per ens simpliciter, nec ens diminutum nisi per ens perfectum, sicut privatio non intelligitur nisi per habitum. Si ergo omne ens creatum est ens secundum partem, solum autem ens increatum est ens simpliciter et perfectum; necesse est, quod quaelibet entis differentia inferat et concludat, Deum esse.

(18) "Item, si est ens in potentia, est ens in actu: quia nunquam potentia est reducibilis ad actum nisi per ens in actu, nec esset potentia, nisi esset reducibilis ad actum: si ergo ens, quod est actus purus, nihil habens de possibilitate, non est nisi Deus; necesse est, quod omne aliud a primo ente inferat, Deum esse.

(12) "Item, si est ens ab alio, est ens non ab alio: quia nihil educit se ipsum de non-esse in esse: ergo prima ratio educendi necesse est, quod sit in ente primo, quod ab alio non educitur. Si ergo ens ab alio dicitur ens creatum, et ens non ab alio dicitur ens increatum, quod Deus est; omnes entis differentiae inferunt, Deum esse.

(14) "Item, si est ens respectivum, est ens absolutum: quia respectivum nunquam terminatur nisi ad absolutum; sed ens absolutum a nullo dependens non potest esse nisi quod nihil recipit aliunde; hoc autem est ens primum, omne autem aliud ens est habens aliquid de dependentia: ergo necesse est, quod quaelibet entis differentia inferat, Deum esse.

(11) "Si est ens posterius, est et ens prius, quia posterius non est nisi a priori: si ergo est universitas posteriorem, necesse est, esse ens

primum. Si ergo necesse est ponere, aliquid esse prius et posterius in creaturis; necesse est, universitatem creaturarum inferre et clamare primum principium.

(20) "Item si est ens mutabile, est ens immutabile: quia secundum quod probat Philosophus, motus est ab ente quieto et propter ens quietum: si ergo ens omnino immutabile non est nisi illud ens primum, quod Deus est, cetera autem creata, eo ipso quod creata, sunt mutabilia; necesse est quod Deum esse inferatur a qualibet entis differentia.

(19) "Item, si est ens compositum, est ens simplex: quia compositum non habet esse a se, ergo necesse est, quod a simplici recipiat originem; sed ens simplicissimum, nihil de compositione habens non est nisi ens primum: ergo omne aliud ens infert Deum."

Saint Bonaventure mentions explicitly that the *intellectus plene resolvens* alone is able to obtain such knowledge, that is, the knowledge which is directed toward the fundamental, essential reality of things, and consequently that knowledge which can cease to ask questions only when it has arrived at something absolute. The following text is given by way of interpretation: "Sed quod possit intelligi aliquid praeter alterum, hoc potest esse multipliciter: aut quantum ad intellectum apprehendentem, aut quantum ad intellectum resolventem . . . Alio modo contingit aliquid intelligere praeter alterum, intellectu resolvente; et iste intellectus considerat ea quae sunt rei essentialia, sicut potest intelligi subiectum sine propria passione. Et hoc potest esse dupliciter: aut intellectu resolvente plene et perfecte, aut intellectu deficiente et resolvente semiplene. Intellectu resolvente semiplene, potest intelligi aliquid esse, non intellectu primo ente. Intellectu autem resolvente perfecte, non potest intelligi aliquid, primo ente non intellecto." I *Sent.*, 28, dub. 1 (I, 504). Cf. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 541 ff. Cf. also Matthew of Aquasparta, *De cognitione*, II, ed. Quar., p. 254. Also *In Hexaem.*, XI, 10 (V, 381): "Respondeo: intellectus duplex est: perfectus et plenus et plene resolvens . . . intelligere autem semiplene . . ." Also III *Sent.* 35, u., 4 (III, 281): "Intellectus aliquando accipitur pro actu intelligendi, aliquando pro ipso intellecto sive intelligibili, aliquando pro ipso habitu, qui dirigit intellectum in iudicando de veris et falsis."

9 *Privationes et defectus*, privations and defects. This goes back to Averroes, who, interpreting the text of Aristotle, *De anima* III, text 25 (that the soul recognizes evil through its opposite), says: "Et universaliter omnes privationes non cognoscuntur nisi per contraria, scilicet per cognitionem habitus et per cognitionem defectus habitus." Cf. Saint Bonaventure, *De sc. Christi*, IV, fund. 25 (V, 19): "Item, nullum ens defectivum, quantum est de se, cognoscitur nisi per ens perfectum; sed omne verum creatum, quantum est de se, est tenebra et defectus: ergo nihil in intellectu cadit nisi per illud summum verum." For the sources, see II *Sent.* (II, 14, note 4).

10 Concerning the theory of illumination, cf. the text of *De sc. Christi*, IV, *supra*, note 9. Cf. also Saint Augustine, *De vera religione*, 39 (PL 34, 154): "Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas; et si tuam naturam mutabilem inveneris, transcende et teipsum. Sed memento, cum te transcendis, ratiocinantem animam te transcendere. Illuc ergo tende, unde ipsum lumen rationis accenditur. Quo enim pervenit omnis bonus ratiocinator, nisi ad veritatem? Cum ad seipsam veritas non utique ratiocinando perveniat, sed quod ratiocinantes appetunt, ipsa sit." The explanations of Saint Bonaventure are almost literally repeated by Matthew of Aquasparta. Cf. *De cognitione*, II, ed. Quar., pp. 250—261.

11 *Impressa notio summi boni*, the notion of the highest good. Cf. Saint Augustine, VIII *de Trinit.*, 3, 4, (PL 42, 949).

12 *Desiderium*, desire. Cf. Boethius, III *De consol. phil.* (PL 63, 719—786); cf. also Saint Augustine, *De lib. arb.*, II, 9, 26 (PL 32, 1254 to 1255); also Aristotle, *Eth.* I, c. 1 ff. Also Saint Bonaventure, *De myst. Trinit.*, 1, 1, fund. 7 (V, 46): "Similiter quantum ad defectum in actu resolvendi incidit dubitatio, quando intellectus carnalis nescit resolvere nisi usque ad ea quae patent sensibus, sicut sunt ista corporalia; ex qua ratione putaverunt aliqui, solem istum visibilem, qui obtinet principatum inter creaturas corporales, esse Deum, quia nescierunt resolvere usque ad substantiam incorpoream nec usque ad rerum prima principia." *Loc. cit.*, p. 49.

13 *Verbum*, the word. Cf. I *Sent.*, 27, 2, u., 3 (I, 487): "Dicendum quod in intellectu verbi cadunt istae conditiones, scilicet intelligentis cognitio, similitudinis conceptio et alicuius expressio . . . Verbum autem non est aliud quam similitudo expressa et expressiva, concepta vi spiritu intelligentis, secundum quod se vel aliud intuetur. Unde patet, quod intellectus verbi praesupponit intellectum notitiae et generationis et imaginis: intellectum notitiae in intuitu spiritus intelligentis, intellectum generationis in conceptione interiori, intellectum imaginis in similitudine per omnia conformi, et superaddit his omnibus intellectum expressionis."

14 *Verbum*, the Word as God. Cf. *In Hexaem.*, III, 4 (V, 343): "Summum autem spiritum impossibile est se non intelligere et cum intellectum aequetur intelligenti, intelligit quidquid est et quidquid potest: ergo ratio intelligendi aequatur intellectui, quae similitudo eius est. Haec autem similitudo Verbum est, quia secundum Augustinum et Anselmum, similitudo mentis convertentis se super se, quae in acie mentis est, verbum est. Si ergo haec similitudo aequalis est, ergo Deus est, et a Deo originata repraesentat originantem et quidquid Pater potest: ergo repraesentat multa." The Augustinian sources were put together by Peter Lombard in Lib I, d. III, c. 2: found in Saint Bonaventure (I, 63—64).

15 *Circumincessio*, the perfect being-in-one-another of the Divine Persons in spite of their distinction as Persons. Cf. I *Sent.*, 19, 1, u., 4 (I, 349): "Circumincessio, qua dicitur, quod unus est in alio et e converso; et hoc proprie et perfecte in solo Deo est, quia circumincessio in essendo ponit distinctionem simul et unitatem. Et quoniam in solo Deo est summa unitas cum distinctione, ita quod distinctio est inconfusa et unitas indistincta: hinc est, quod in solo Deo est circumincessio perfecta . . ." See also, *loc. cit.*, note 10: Dionysius, *De div. nom.* c. 2, 4.

16 *Causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, ordo vivendi*, the cause of being, the basis of understanding, the order of life. Cf. Saint Augustine, who, in *De civitate Dei*, VIII, 4 (PL 41, 228), attributes this threefold division to Plato: " . . aliquid tale de Deo sentiunt, ut in illo inveniatur et causa subsistendi, et ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi: quorum trium, unum ad naturalem, alterum ad rationalem, tertium ad moralem partem intelligitur pertinere. Si enim homo ita creatus est, ut per id, quod in eo praecellit, attingat illud, quod cuncta praecellit, id est, unum, verum, optimum Deum, sine quo nulla creatura subsistit, nulla doctrina instruit, nullus usus expedit, ipse quaeratur, ubi nobis secura sunt omnia; ipse cernatur, ibi nobis certa sunt omnia, ipse diligatur, ubi nobis recta sunt omnia."

17 As to the division of sciences, cf. the somewhat longer explanation in *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, 4, (V, 320—321).

CHAPTER FOUR

1 Cf. I *Sent.*, 3, 2, 2, 1 (I, 89): "Nam proprie loquendo, imago consistit in unitate essentiae et trinitate potentiarum, secundum quas anima nata est ab illa summa Trinitate sigillari imagine similitudinis, quae consistit in gratia et virtutibus theologicis." Cf. also III *Sent.*, 27, 1, 1 (III, 592): "Consistit enim imago recreationis in tribus virtutibus theologicis et unitate gratiae, sicut imago creationis in tribus potentiis et unitate substantiae." Also *Brevil.*, V, 4 (V, 256): "Rursus, quoniam rectitudo animae perfecta requirit, quod ipsa rectificetur secundum duplicem faciem, scilicet superiorem et inferiorem . . . ideo necesse est, animam quantum ad superiorem faciem, in qua consistit imago Trinitatis aeternae, rectificari per tres theologicas virtutes, ut sicut imago creationis consistit in trinitate potentiarum cum unitate essentiae, sic imago recreationis in trinitate habituum cum unitate gratiae, per quos anima fertur recte in summam Trinitatem secundum tria appropriata tribus personis; ita quod fides dirigit in summe verum credendo et assendiendo, spes in summe arduum innitendo et expectando, caritas in summe bonum desiderando et diligendo."

2 *Sensus spirituales*, spiritual senses. The supernatural apparel of grace gives to the human soul something like new powers for the understanding of immediate experience. Through its activity the internal animation of the Holy Ghost is perfected in a loving understanding of God and a dedication to Him. These powers are the *sensus spirituales*, analogous to the five external senses, of which Saint Bonaventure and the mystics speak. Through them the human mind, in a manner corresponding to its new life, becomes immediately present to the life-giving activity of divine grace, for the soul, in a way analogous to the experiences of the external senses, now sees, hears, smells, tastes, and feels. Thus, through the supernatural apparel of grace in the human soul, the highest spiritual joy that is possible in this present state of pilgrimage reaches its perfection through an immediate, spiritual experience analogous to sense experience. The expression, *sensus spirituales*, as used by Saint Bonaventure, is to be translated sometimes by spiritual senses, sometimes by spiritual experiences. Strictly speaking, the expression has the last meaning only, because the *sensus spirituales* are not new habits of grace, but only the perfect activation of the infused habits of grace already present. "Non dicunt novos habitus, sed habituum praecedentium perfectum usum." III *Sent.* 34, 1, 1 (III, 737). Cf. also *Brevil.* V, 6 (V, 259). Frequently, however, the context requires the translation of *sensus spirituales* by spiritual senses. In these cases, Saint Bonaventure does not consider them as new faculties of knowledge, but rather as the infused gifts of grace already present in so far as they produce those experiences. Cf. Jean Francis Bonnefoy, O. F. M., *Le Saint-Esprit et ses dons selon saint Bonaventure*, 1920, pp. 210—215. Cf. also Rosenmöller, *Religiöse Erkenntnis nach Bonaventura*, 1925, p. 165 ff.; Étienne Gilson, *Der heilige Bonaventura*, p. 619; Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., "La théologie mystique de S. Bonaventure," in *Archivum Franc. Hist.* 14 (1921), pp. 51—53. Other references to the *sensus spirituales* are the following: III *Sent.*, 13, dub. 1 (III, 291); III *Sent.*, 34, 1, 1, 1 (III, 737); *Brevil.*, V, 6 (V, 259); *De reduct. art.*, 10 (V, 322); *In Hexaem.*, III, 22 (V, 347); *De plant. parad.*, 16 (V, 578); *In circumcis., Sermo* VI (IX, 142); *In Epiphania, Sermo* XIV (IX, 169); *De sancta Agnete, Sermo* II (IX, 510).

3 *Hierarchus*, hierarchic. Under the influence of the pseudo-Areopagite, Saint Bonaventure considers all intellectual beings as on different

levels, that is, hierarchically ordered in reference to their last and highest source of origin. Consequently he defines hierarchy as an order governing all holy and rational beings: "Hierarchia est rerum sacrarum et rationabilium ordinata potestas." II *Sent.*, 9 praen. (II, 238). Because Saint Bonaventure uses the term "hierarchy" in an analogical sense, it is possible for him to distinguish a divine, an angelic, and an ecclesiastical or human hierarchy. *Ibid.*, p. 240. Cf. also *Brevil.*, Prol., 3 (V, 203). The highest level is taken by the most holy Trinity; below this is the hierarchy of the angels, and still lower, the hierarchy of the church, which includes hierarchized souls. The divine Hierarchy is based upon the relationship of origin in the three Divine Persons. The principle of the created hierarchy is the imitation of God in nature and grace, or the hierarchically ordered communication of grace. According to Guardini, in *Lumen mentis*, p. 198 f., in Rosenmöller, *Religiöse Erkenntnis nach Bonaventura*, 1925, p. 135, the following is essential to the concept of hierarchy: "It is an order of supernatural life directed toward God. It is based upon the ordering of beings in both directions, above and below, and has as goal the rendering of created beings ever more like the Creator through grace, knowledge, and moral relationship . . ." Finally, in the hierarchic order, there is a directing of the senses, an *ascendere* toward God, resulting from an infused illumination. Cf. Gilson, *Der heilige Bonaventura*, pp. 607 and 908. On the latter page there can be found a very good schematic survey of the ecclesiastical, internal, and heavenly hierarchy. Cf. *In Hexaem.*, XXII, 24—42 (V, 441—444) where the hierarchized soul is described as having levels corresponding to the angelic hierarchy. For the hierarchized mind, cf. *In Hexaem.*, XX, 22—23 (V, 429).

4 Especially on this level of contemplation, the reading of Sacred Scripture is important. Cf. *Brevil.*, Prol. 1 (V, 203): "Recte autem sacra Scriptura dividitur in vetus et novum testamentum, et non in theoricam et practicam, sicut philosophia: quia, cum Scriptura fundetur proprie super cognitionem fidei, quae virtus est et fundamentum morum et iustitiae et totius rectae vitae, non potest in ea sequestrari notitia rerum sive credendorum a notitia morum. Secus autem est de philosophia, quae non tantum de veritate morum, verum etiam agit de vero nuda speculatione considerato. Quoniam igitur Scriptura sacra est notitia movens ad bonum et revocans a malo; et hoc est per timorem et amorem: ideo dividitur in duo testamenta, quorum 'brevis differentia est timor et amor'." Saint Augustine, *contra Adimant.*, 17, 2 (PL 42, 156). Cf. also *Brevil.*, II, 12 (V, 230). Quoted in full, *supra*, chapter II, note 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 Cf. I *Sent.*, 8, 1, 1, 2 (I, 154): "Tanta est veritas divini esse, ut non possit cum assensu cogitari non esse nisi propter defectum ex parte intelligentia, qui ignorat, quid sit Deus; ex parte vero intelligibilis non potest esse defectus nec praesentiae nec evidentiae, sive in se, sive in probando."

2 This is a difficult passage, but can be explained as follows. Every object conceived of by our mind is conceived of as a certain being, and without the concept being nothing can be understood. This necessity is sufficient evidence that we are faced with a first principle. For, in addition, not only all objects of our experience, but also all ideas must be grouped under the idea of being and cannot be understood without it. What Saint Bonaventure is trying to explain in this part of the *Itinerarium* pertains to the deepest concern of metaphysics. On the other hand,

we must not forget that he presents his speculation at the fifth degree of the journey of man home to God, immediately after his speculation on grace. These metaphysical speculations, therefore, are made by the essentially Christian mind, which is informed by revelation that the first name of God is *Ego sum qui sum* (Ex. 3, 14). Such a mind is exhorted to fix its gaze on the *ipsum esse*, and it can do so because the *ipsum esse*, as known from revelation, is glimmering through the veil of the being of every creature. Moved by it and forced by its unerring, though dim, light, it becomes aware of that being which is so certain that it cannot be thought not to be. The Seraphic Doctor can certainly count in his favor the fact that no philosopher can deny the necessity of the implications: If something exists, something is necessary. If something exists, the absolute nothing is an impossibility. If something exists, the absolute potency is impossible. Hence, before the nothing and the potency, there is being and actuality in necessity. But one must not misunderstand this interpretation, for the Seraphic Doctor is not interested in such deductions; he takes for himself the fact that it is so, and he immediately explains it in the most obvious way, that it is the being itself, the first being, the purest and most actual being, that leaps to our mind, as soon as we fix our mind on Being itself, in an act of contemplation.

3 This does not mean that our mind in its present state is aware of Being itself. For in our present state we are intent upon particular beings and their abstractions, without noticing that Being which occurs to us under the surface of all those particular beings, and which is the Being itself transcending all categories. In this passage we are at the starting point again. What the illuminated eye of the contemplative man recognizes in an act of contemplation as the Being which is God through any particular and finite being, is there, too, for everyone, though only dimly and faintly seen in the perception of any being. Without this faint light no one would be able to conceive an idea of being transcending the finiteness and contingency of the objects of his experience. What he is able to grasp from these objects alone is being with its essential limitations, which is truly analogical in essential otherness. From such an analogical idea of being, there is no way to a cognition of God, since it has to be qualified when also applied to God, as essentially equivocal. Through the Being of God which shines through the being of creatures, faint as it may appear, we are able to reach an idea of Being with its essential predicates of necessity, absoluteness, and eternity. This idea is not a construction of negations and privations, but of positions under the influence of that Being which is the ideas in their totality. If a theory of analogy of being will not be devoid of sense, both terms of comparison must be given. Saint Bonaventure's theory of cognition provides us with both terms, with the created being known by experience, and with the uncreated Being known by illumination through the fog of created beings. Cf. 1 *Sent.*, 3, 1, u., 1 (V, 69): "Deus in se tanquam summa lux est summe cognoscibilis; et tanquam lux summe intellectum nostrum complens, et quantum est de se, esset summe cognoscibilis etiam nobis, nisi esset aliquis defectus a parte virtutis cognoscentis; qui quidem non tollitur perfecte nisi per deiformitatem gloriae. Concedendae sunt igitur rationes, quod Deus sit cognoscibilis a creatura et etiam clarissime cognoscibilis, quantum est de se, nisi aliquid esset impediens vel deficiens ex parte intellectus, sicut post patebit." See chapter 3, note 8.

4 *Vide igitur ipsum purissimum esse . . .*, Behold this most pure Being. From all that has been said about the theory of illumination and

the indubitability of the existence of God, it is obvious that the "reasons" or proofs which Saint Bonaventure offers for the existence of God, in so far as they *infer* the existence of God, are not considered by him as proofs or reasons which first make known the existence of God, since the existence of God is evident in itself, and is immediately known in the proposition: God exists. Hence, the reasons taken from the exterior world, although not denied by the Seraphic Doctor, are not of primary importance; they are rather stimuli inducing us to think and to become aware of the immediacy of our cognition of God, or they may be merely exercises: ". . . sicut iam patet, hoc verum non indiget probatione propter defectum evidentiae ex parte sua, sed propter defectum considerationis ex parte nostra. Unde huiusmodi ratiocinationes potius sunt quaedam exercitationes intellectus, quam rationes dantes evidentiam et manifestantes ipsum verum probatum." *De Myst. Trinit.*, I, 1, ad 12 (V, 51). For being, truth, goodness, perceived in any being, cannot be perceived in its ultimate meaning without the Being, Truth, and Goodness, which are God, nor can any absolute and final and evident truth be known with certitude without the divine light shining through the objects and ideas. This light is always there; we have but to pay full attention to it in a *resolutio plena*. When we bring to full awareness the content of our first ideas, it is impossible to us to think that God does not exist.

Such is exactly the case with the idea of God, which is either given to us by authority or by the innate knowledge of it in our soul, which is the image of God, or from creatures in a kind of reasoning. If, then, illuminated by the light of God, we think and become fully aware of what God means, we cannot think that God does not exist. So we reach the shortest formula of the evidence we have of the existence of God: *Si Deus est Deus, Deus est. Loc. cit.*, fund. 29 (V, 48). If we understand what the term "God" means — an understanding made possible by the divine illumination — we see at once the necessity of the antecedent, which, according to Saint Bonaventure, is not only a mere statement of identity, but a statement in which the necessity of the first Being is seen, reflected in and by the statement of identity. For to know God means to know the necessity of His being. This necessity is imparted to our mind in the act of thinking of God: "Lux animae veritas est: haec lux nescit occasum. Ita enim fortiter irradiatur super animam, ut etiam non possit cogitari non esse, quin homo sibi contradicat." *In Hexaem.* IV, 1 (V, 349). If we admit the theory of illumination, how then could it be conceivable that our intellect, which sees absolute certitude only because of the light that is the eternal Truth itself, can deny the existence of this light without which it is not able to see final certitude at all? "Intellectus noster nihil intelligit nisi per primam lucem et veritatem, ergo omnis actio intellectus, quae est in cogitando aliquid non esse, est per primam lucem; sed per primam lucem non contingit cogitare, non esse primam lucem sive veritatem: ergo nullo modo contingit cogitare, primam veritatem non esse." I *Sent.* 8, 1, 1, 2, fund. 4 (I, 153).

From all this it follows that the knowledge of God is immediately given to us, not in a vision of His essence, but in the impossibility of the denial of His existence, as soon as the proposition is formulated and understood correctly, for the existence is included in the notion of God: "Nam Deus sive summa veritas est ipsum esse, quo nihil melius cogitari potest: ergo non potest non esse nec cogitari non esse. Praedicatum enim clauditur in subiecto." *Loc. cit.*, p. 155. We may deny His existence, but the denial is not evident and cannot be evident; we

may believe that we do not know God, because we are ignorant of the meaning of the term "God," but if we go to the bottom of our knowledge and conceive God as the *ipsum esse*, there is no possibility of giving our assent to the denial of His existence: "Concedendum est igitur, quod tanta est veritas divini esse, quod cum assensu non potest cogitari non esse nisi propter ignorantiam cogitantis, qui ignorat, quid est quod per nomen Dei dicitur." *Ibid.*

5 Cf. *De myst. Trinit.*, 3, 1, ad 7 (V, 72): "Nihil habens diversificationis."

6 *Actualissimum*, meaning *Actus purus*. Cf. *ibid.*, 3, 1, ad 4 (V, 71).

7 *Mens pura*, a pure mind. Cf. I *Sent.*, 2, dub. 2 (I, 59): ". . . figi in illa non potest nisi mens pura; comprehendere non potest nisi immensa. Ratio autem, quare non potest figi, est duplex: una, quia est supra intellectum, et ideo intellectus in ea non figitur, nisi habeat gluten affectus, sed statim recidit; alia ratio, quia oculus sanus est illi luci proportionabilis qualitative, etsi non quantitative; sed oculus infirmus sive lippus utroque modo est improportionalibilis, et ideo non figitur."

CHAPTER SIX

1 We have reached here the peak of Saint Bonaventure's philosophical speculations as a help to the return of the mind to God. The immediacy of the cognition of the necessity of God's existence which is given to everyone who fully resolves his ideas, especially the idea of being, is still more accentuated in the act of contemplation which is proper to the fifth stage. Now the soul, its gaze fixed on the idea of being, freely turns from one attribute of God's being to another, perceiving their intimate connection and interrelation, enraptured and full of admiration. When it now passes to the idea of Goodness, revealed by Sacred Scripture, the soul climbs a step higher to the highest peak toward which contemplative theology tends, and contemplates the necessity of the generation and spiration of the Blessed Trinity itself. Now there is nothing left to the soul but the rest of the seventh day.

2 Saint Bonaventure is not claiming here the possibility of proving the Trinity by natural reason, but merely of indicating proofs of congruency. Although he speaks of the necessity of proof, nevertheless he knows the *necessitas congruentiae*.

3 Cf. I *Sent.*, 22, u., 3 (I, 395): "Si loquamur de nominibus, quae Deus sibi imposuit, cum ipse se proprie intelligat, huiusmodi nomina sunt propria; et talia dicuntur esse *bonum* et *qui est*. Unde Dionysius videtur velle, quod illud nomen *bonum* solum sit proprium et principale: Damascenus vero, quod illud nomen *qui est* solum est proprium et principale; et unus attendit in nomine perfectionem, alter absolutionem, uterque tamen proprietatem."

4 Cf. *Brevil.*, I, 3 (V, 212): "Similiter, cum Filius sit imago, verbum et filius; imago nominat illam personam ut similitudinem expressivam; verbum, ut similitudinem expressivam; filius, ut similitudinem hypostaticam; rursus imago, ut similitudinem conformem; verbum, ut similitudinem intellectualem; filius, ut similitudinem connaturalem."

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 *Sapientia*, wisdom. Saint Bonaventure follows Saint Augustine and makes wisdom in the Christian sense the ideal of man's search for knowledge and ultimate peace. What is wisdom? Saint Bonaventure uses this term in many meanings; it is necessary to distinguish them if

one wishes to understand correctly those texts where the Seraphic Doctor uses the term "wisdom." It can be understood in four different senses:

The first is wisdom in a common sense *(communiter)*. Thus it means a general cognition of things, or, according to Saint Augustine and Aristotle, the cognition of things divine and human. In this sense, we can identify wisdom with philosophy.

The second is wisdom in a less common sense *(minus communiter)*. It means not any cognition, but a sublime one, for it is the cognition of eternal things. Thus wisdom is distinguished from science, which is the cognition of created things, according to Saint Augustine. Aristotle also understands wisdom in this sense, when he calls it the cognition of the highest causes. Hence we can identify wisdom with metaphysics, or first philosophy.

The third is wisdom in the proper sense *(proprie)*; it means the cognition of God according to piety *(cognitio Dei secundum pietatem)*, that is, a cognition of God in worshipping Him by faith, hope, and charity. Saint Augustine understands wisdom in this sense when he explains the word of Holy Scripture (*Job* 28, 28): "Ecce pietas ipsa est sapientia." Thus we can identify wisdom with true religion, that is, a truly Christian life.

The fourth is wisdom in a stricter sense *(magis stricte)*, and means the cognition of God by experience *(cognitionem Dei experimentalem)*. For wisdom is also one of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the act of which is to taste the sweetness of God. This wisdom truly pertains to the mystical state; it begins in cognition and ends in affection, and has no limits as to its intensity: "Et ex hac eadem causa contingit, quod sapientia non potest esse nimia, quia excessus in experimento divinae dulcedinis potius est laudabilis quam vituperabilis, secundum quod patet in viris sanctis et contemplativis, qui prae nimia dulcedine modo elevantur in ecstasim, modo sublevantur usque ad raptum, licet hoc contingit paucissimis." III *Sent.*, 35, u., 1 (III, 774).

Wisdom in this last sense is the goal of Saint Bonaventure's life and work. He calls it *pax* (*Itiner.*, Prol. 1 and VII, 1); he calls it *quaedam ignorantia docta* (*Brevil.*, V, 6; V, 260); he calls it *charitas* (*De reduct. art.*, 26; V, 325); he calls it *excessus mentalis*, etc. (cf. *Itiner.*, *loc. cit.*). For all these names mean to him one and the same thing, the real goal of man here upon earth, the wisdom of the mystical union with God, which is knowledge by tasting: "Dicendum, quod Augustinus hic loquitur de cognitione experimentali, quam quia habet de Deo sive in patria, sive in via: in patria quidem perfecte, sed in via imperfecte; neutra tamen habetur nisi a mundis corde. Unde haec scientia *sapientia* est quia secum habet iunctum saporem; et per hanc illuminatur intellectus et stabilitur affectus. Et ideo dicit, quod Deum scire non est aliud quam mente conspicere firmiterque percipere . . . cognoscitur etiam [Deus] per intimam unionem Dei et animae, iuxta quod dicit Apostolus (I Cor. 6, 17): Qui adhaeret Deo unus spiritus est. Et haec est cognitio excellentissima, quae quidem est in ecstatico amore et elevat supra cognitionem fidei secundum statum communem." III *Sent.*, 24, dub. 4 (III, 531).

If the highest wisdom here upon earth is obtainable only in mystical union with God, why then should one care about scientific activity with its heavy burden of methodical thinking and its detours of reasoning? Is not the straightest way to it found in the way of Saint Francis, to love God in all simplicity, to strip oneself of all earthly things and affections in order to be free to fly away to the union of love with God without any special intellectual culture? ". . . isti sunt propinqui Jerusalem et non habent nisi evolare." *In Hexaem.*, XXII, 23 (V, 441).

Saint Bonaventure pays his unrestricted respect to this way, but he does not choose it for himself. For it can be travelled only if a special vocation is given, not the vocation to the mystical union as such — the Seraphic Doctor has never renounced this vocation — but to that union with God which is represented by the life of Saint Francis, not by his rule and order. Saint Bonaventure's vocation, as that of his order, is the way, through knowledge and speculation, to wisdom, in tasting God. Hence Saint Bonaventure and his order have another way to attain this ideal of contemplation in wisdom, which is the mystical union. For Saint Bonaventure is an intellectual, although not an intellectualist; his vocation is that of a theologian who craves for understanding. Intellectual activity is as necessary for him as his daily bread: "Sicut enim corpus sine cibo perdit virtutem, decorem et sanitatem, sic anima sine intelligentia veritatis tenebrescit et infirma, deformis et miserabilis fit in omnibus: oportet ergo refici." *In Hexaem.*, 17, 6 (V, 410). Saint Bonaventure has truly lived up to this program. The ultimate aim of all his works is not so much to cultivate the intellect, as, by cultivating the intellect, to lead to the main goal, which is union with God in true wisdom. Though this trend of his work is more or less visible in every writing which came from his pen, it has found its most clear expression in the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, in the *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, and in the *Hexaemeron:* in these writings he puts speculation and all the sciences into the service of the ultimate goal, which is the mystical union. In the second work, where he makes clear the connections of all sciences and skills with theology, and through theology with mystical union, he concludes: "Et hic est fructus omnium scientiarum, ut in omnibus aedificetur fides, honorificetur Deus, componantur mores, hauriantur consolationes, quae sunt in unione sponsi et sponsae, quae quidem fit per caritatem, ad quam terminatur tota intentio sacrae Scripturae, et per consequens omnis illuminatio desursum descendens, et sine qua omnis cognitio vana est, quia numquam pervenitur ad Filium nisi per Spiritum Sanctum, qui docet nos omnem veritatem: qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen." *De reduct. art.*, 26 (V, 325). See Introduction, p. 15.

Thus, by vivifying all knowledge and every human endeavor and research through the spirit of seraphic love, the strain experienced by every intellectual mystic is released. All one-sidedness of intellectual and scientific activity will be out-balanced, or absorbed, as it were, by the other activity which culminates in unction and charity. The manner of speculation the seraphic Doctor has in mind is beautifully expressed to the readers of the *Itinerarium* in Prologue 4. It is through the fruitful marriage between the divergent tendencies of speculation and charity, science and wisdom, intellectualism and mysticism, with emphasis always on the second part, that Saint Bonaventure has found the solution for his personal problem and that of his order.

2 What preceded was not vision; it was an awareness of something divine; it was an obscured knowledge, in which the divine reality was seen, but only through the fog of created things and the human expression of revelation. The direct and full contact with the divine reality, however, is possible to us through grace in Christ, if we leave behind the "perspicacity" of the intellect and plunge into the depths of the ocean, which is God, in love. For love reaches further than vision. "Amor plus se extendit quam visio." II *Sent.*, 23, 2, 3, ad 4 (I, 545).

3 The Seraphic Doctor, in explaining the role played by the eternal ideas in our cognition, always repeats that the idea acts as *ratio motiva* and as *ratio regulans*. What is meant by that? In their function as

regulative reasons, the ideas make such knowledge possible, because they force the restless uncertainty and mutability of our thought under the inevitable law. It is, therefore the very immutability of the divine Truth, which, though dimly seen by our intellect, gives to our knowledge the transcendent characters of necessity, immutability, eternity, and absoluteness. The eye of our mind is fixed by this faint light in the right direction, as the eye of a helmsman is guided by a dim light on a dark night. Hence Saint Bonaventure calls the eternal reasons *ductivae*. Cf. *De sc. Christi*, IV, ad 19 (V, 26). For the same reason the eternal ideas or rules are stimulating factors of our certain and final cognition: they are *rationes motivae;* our inferior reason would be lost in the multiplicity of apprehension of created beings if the superior reason did not become aware of something beyond the contingency of their being and if it were not moved toward the eternal and immutable ideas, dimly shining forth through the veil of their creatureness. Only if we admit such a presence of the eternal rules and ideas to the acts of our certain cognition can we account for the fact that we are able to grasp objects which transcend all creatures and our mind and are common to all. They are present, but seen only faintly and in connection with created beings, and not with clarity or distinctness. Hence a direct vision of the divine Truth or essence, that is, Ontologism, is entirely foreign to Saint Bonaventure's doctrine. For he does not admit it even in the mystical union of the soul with God, where the soul, all its powers being united in the one act of love, embraces its God in the darkness. Therefore the Seraphic Doctor calls this highest human experience a *docta ignorantia:* "Verum etiam [spiritus noster] quadam ignorantia docta supra seipsum rapitur in caliginem et excessum . . . Quam nocturnam et deliciosam illuminationem nemo novit nisi qui probat . . ." *Brevil.* V, 6, 7 (V, 260). The light of divine illumination or the ideas shine through the haze of creatures, remaining remote from intuition, and being perceived only in "contuition." Hence we do not see the ideas in their purity, our eyes being covered with a veil, because of the obscuration of the mirror of the soul, which is the divine image; the eye of our mind cannot see them without the interference of created things also: "Ad illud, quod obiicitur, quod quidquid cognoscitur in illis, aut cum velamine, aut sine velamine; dicendum quod in statu viae non cognoscitur in rationibus illis aeternis sine velamine et aenigmate propter divinae imaginis obscurationem. Ex hoc tamen non sequitur, quod nihil certitudinaliter cognoscatur et clare, pro eo quod principia creata, quae aliquo modo sunt media cognoscendi, licet non sine illis rationibus, possunt perspicue et sine velamine a nostra mente videri." *De sc. Christi*, V, ad 22 (V, 26). Cf. also I *Sent.* 2, dub. 1, (I, 59): "Respondeo: Dicendum, quod mens ad hoc quod Deum contempletur perfecte, indiget purgari quoad intellectum et affectum; ideo dicit per iustituam fidei, id est per diem, quae facit iustum in opere et per se purgat intellectum, sed iustitia affectum. Utriusque autem purgationis triplex est gradus. Nam intellectus purgatus est, cum abstrahitur a sensibilibus, speciebus, purgatior, cum mundatur a phantasticis imaginibus, purgatissimus, cum a philosophicis rationibus. Gradus purgationis affectus sunt isti: purgatus est affectus, cum mundatur a culpa, purgatior, cum a sequela, purgatissimus, ab occasione; et in hoc statu idoneus est contemplari."

4 See Prologue, note 9.

5 *Superlucentum caliginem*, a darkness resplendent above all splendor. Cf. *De sc. Christi*, 2 ad 9 (V, 10): "Propter quod et Augustinus frequenter dicit, quod cognitio in Verbo assimilatur luci diei, cognitio autem in proprio genere assimilatur vesperi, propter hoc quod omnis creatura tenebra est respectu divinae lucis."

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